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THE NEED OF A TEACHING MINISTRY

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"Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues" (Matthew 9: 35). The Jewish people had had religious teachers for years, but the Master was appalled at their ignorance. To Him, they appeared as sheep scattered without a shepherd because they were possessed of factual knowledge, but were ignorant of how to apply that knowledge. Therefore, He went about all the cities and villages teaching in their synagogues.

The picture is not so very different from that of our own day. The Christian Church has always proclaimed its teaching office, but the fruits of that office are not so apparent today. The Church is frequently assailed as middle-aged, respectable and without any message for the people of our own day. It is alleged that she is quick to criticize but unable to inspire or to create. Such a criticism requires our honest consideration. Some of us feel that this criticism is due to the fact that while the Church professes a teaching mission, nevertheless that mission is being very imperfectly carried out. There is a growing interest in training our clergymen to heal the sick in spirit. There is a welcome growth both in the desire and in the ability to heal such persons. But there is a painful lack of both ability and effort to

teach normal adult members of Christ's Church how to grow spiritually. The Church is too prone to think of religious education in terms of childhood and, even in those terms, is apt to look upon human beings as passive receptacles into which information is to be poured. This attitude is still found among too many of our Clergy. They are distressed because people no longer heed the advice given them in sermons or lectures. In the majority of cases people really would like to do as they are advised, but they do not know how to do it, and, so far as the Church is concerned, they too seldom find out.

The chief need of our Church at the present time is not more auditors, more money contributors or even more workers. We need more members with a consciousness of their privilege and duty as potential revealers of God's truth to a world that is in conflict because its problems are being faced by immature and undeveloped spiritual personalities. We need more members conscious of the possibility and of the necessity of growing in spiritual capacity so that they may be able to control world problems. We need more members willing to go about the task of increasing their spiritual capacity so that in the company of like-purposed people they may gain control of our world problems and bring them to a Christian solution.

The attitude of the ordinary Church member is that ideas of religious truth gained in youth remain the same throughout life. This attitude tends to disaster. The rest of the personality may change greatly with advancing years, but the religious ideas do not change. They are even clung to desperately in the face of other life changes because, being unacquainted with either the need or the means of spiritual growth, the person holding these ideas feels that any change in them would be "disloyal to God" or to "the faith." Fear of loss enters in and breeds intolerance. If sorrow or great temptation enters life, the childish conception may break under the strain because the person realizes that his childish conceptions are utterly inadequate to face his actual situation. The person then feels that he has lost his faith. He becomes a misery to himself and a loss to his church. Of course,

such a person has not necessarily lost his faith, but only his childish conception of his faith. Such an immature and static spiritual capacity becomes a ready prey to cults that either deny the existence of problems in life or else promise a short cut escape from these problems.

Furthermore, the person who carries his childish conceptions into his later life is not an eager and willing participant in the missionary responsibility of the Church. The child views the world chiefly in terms of quantity. Quality judgments are the fruits of maturity because they come from reflection based on experience. The youth-trained person thinks in terms of quantity and, being fearful that the quantity may give out, he is reluctant to think in terms of world responsibility because the world is quantitatively large. Such an immature person may respond to an emotional appeal, but is incapable of deliberate and sustained creative effort. No amount of the beating of drums or other high pressure methods will bring a response from such a person after the emotional appeal has once lost its power through repetition. It is useless to appeal to a sense of duty. Such a person literally has not the capacity to give either himself or his means beyond the edge of his child's world. His capacity to understand both his own potentiality and God's purpose for his life must be increased before he will overcome the deadly inertia which says "I cannot do it."

It is difficult to describe the great weight of inertia that rests upon the Church because of the spiritual immaturity of so many of our Church people, and yet these very same people are clamoring for action on the part of the Church,—some action that will help them to meet the increasing complexities of life. Nothing will be gained by calling these people illogical or unreasonable in their expectations. The Church itself has been and is too frequently illogical in its own approach to these people. A glimpse of our usual practise will demonstrate this.

Each parish spends a considerable sum of money and much persuasion of teachers in the religious education of its members from the cradle to about eighteen years of age. Then a great

change takes place. The former student is too apt to be treated as a finished product and allowed to grope his way in the maze of world forces. His subsequent relationship to the Church is expected to be passively receptive to all information given out and eagerly cooperative with everything that he is asked to do for the Church. Little or no systematic effort is made to guide and to continue the integration of that individual's personality in the face of the constantly new problems which he has to meet in political, social, moral and religious spheres.

In the latent spiritual capacity of our adult members lies the greatest undeveloped resource of our Church. The ability of these members to solve their own problems, as well as the problems of their fellow men, lies in their own hands in proportion to their understanding of their function as necessary co-workers with God and their willingness to increase their spiritual capacity so that they may become still more effective workers. In proportion to their capacity to receive it, God will let his power flow through their lives.

But who is to arouse these people to their need and to supply the means of meeting it? Obviously it is the privilege and the duty of each parish priest. The tragedy of the situation is that too few of our priests know how to teach their normal adult people the process of continuous spiritual growth. Too many of them presuppose an understanding of the spiritual self on the part of the laity and urge cooperation in Church or world affairs so that a Christian solution may be secured for the problems therein. As a matter of fact, our people do not understand their own spiritual capacity or how to develop it, and until the conflicts arising out of those facts are resolved in their own lives, they are incapable of adequately facing other human problems even when they have a will to do so.

Merely stating that these are the facts is not sufficient. We must look to the causes. One fundamental cause is that, so far as the speaker has been able to find out, there is no Seminary in our Church today which is training its students in either the necessity or the technique of educating normal adults so that they

may continue to grow spiritually throughout the whole of life. Religious Education, as ordinarily regarded in our Seminaries, is a matter of Church School administration, child training and appropriate text books therefor. The implication is that if you know how to teach a child, you know how to teach an adult. The facts of the case are quite different. Adults have their own characteristics, interests and motivations which are radically different from those of childhood. For the most part, this fact is overlooked. The relative importance attached by Seminaries to Religious Education as a whole is shown by the fact that it is usually given in a half year course some time during the three years of the student's stay. The result is a Church made up too largely of physical adults with the spiritual viewpoints and capacities of adolescents.

In the face of this situation, of what use is it to know by heart the authorship of all the books of the Bible, the history of the Church, or the intricacies of the Christological controversies, if the person who has amassed such knowledge is unable to mediate it to a spiritual adolescent who is striving to walk as a Christian in this chaotic world? A recently graduated parson who attempts to turn loose his store of seminary knowledge as factual information upon his newly acquired parishioners, may find out that he has gained a reputation for learning among those who remain to hear him through, but that the rest of his flock have gone off wondering what it all has to do with preventing people from lying or stealing other people's property. After one or two such experiences, the neophyte usually commits the unpardonable sin of storing such information in his ecclesiastical attic whence it is drawn out only for use in some paper to be read at a gathering of the clergy. And that is a tragedy, for the people need this knowledge, but the average parson does not know how to mediate it to them in proportion to their experience and degree of spiritual development.

Christ did most of his work with normal adults and was able to increase the educability of grown people. Under his skillful teaching, they had new spiritual experiences, received new in-

sights into reality and gave themselves to new loyalties. He had confidence that all normal human beings irrespective of age, status, sex, race or religious background could readjust themselves to new conditions and new ideas. Christ was convinced that the best way to improve people's conduct was to change their beliefs, attitudes and practices with relation to God. In His teaching work, He did not attempt to tell men what they should be or what they should do. He held out an ideal to them and then demonstrated in His own life the possibility of a man's being able to achieve the ideal. He frankly told men that they themselves had the responsibility for increasing their knowledge and that the degree of their effort to learn would condition all that they would learn subsequently. This is in the background of His saying, "To him that hath shall be given." Having held up to them an ideal, He put them to work to realize that ideal in their own lives by sending them out to teach still other people the character and purpose of God.

This is neither the time nor the place to give an exposition of the technique of adult Religious Education, but we may briefly outline its essentials. Our first consideration must be to try to determine, in the light of Christ's life and teaching, the spiritual status of the person whom we desire to help so far as that status is revealed by such outward manifestations as his factual knowledge of the Bible and of the Church, his ideas concerning prayer and worship as well as his habits and practices, and his readiness and faithfulness in serving others even where public applause and approbation are lacking. It is important to determine this status because the degree of further learning is dependent upon the amount of spiritual development already achieved. Determining this status is a difficult and delicate process requiring great patience and tactful persistency. One cannot generalize with regard to adults. Each person must be regarded from the stand-point of that person's experience, training and environment. Here is where Religious Education and pastoral care merge. Pastoral care, as commonly taught and practiced, is remedial in nature. Religious Education is preventive in that thereby we seek to main-

tain normal health through fostering spiritual growth. Too few of our clergy know how to recognize the signs of spiritual immaturity as it grows into a more abundant spiritual capacity.

Too many times we clergy stop with telling people what is good. We take it for granted that they want to be good, but it will be frequently necessary for us to create the desire to be good by holding up to such people the picture of God's purpose and of man's capacity to achieve the fruit of good living by coöperating in that purpose. Having created the desire to seek the good and having come to some conclusion as to the spiritual status of the person we are trying to help, we must then select the attitudes, habits and practices that seem to promise spiritual growth in his case. We must see to it that he is placed in a learning situation where he may acquire the desirable attitudes and practices. Perhaps that may best be accomplished by personal conferences with the rector or with some more competent person. Perhaps he needs the fellowship of a group conference wherein the problem presented by his particular need may be skillfully introduced in an impersonal manner and the reactions of his fellow Christians be tactfully used to guide and to inspire in him the new way of life. Perhaps he needs increased factual instruction or should be requested to undertake some particular form of service which will overcome his weakness or resolve his doubt. Perhaps the remedy lies simply in a more faithful and more intelligent devotional practice.

We should test the effectiveness of our teaching efforts by the Christ-like changes accomplished in their lives. "By their fruits ye shall know them." One of the proofs of the effectiveness of our teaching will be that our people will show a growing sense of at-homeness in the world gained from understanding more of God and more of their fellow men. Another proof will be found in a growing appreciation of the values of life. A third proof will be a growing sense of the purpose at work in the lives of our people which will make them adaptable to changing conditions, desirous of continuing the learning process, and eager to co-

operate in winning still other men and women to the accomplishment of God's purpose.

The fact that adults are facing terrific problems today is our opportunity and not our despair. A decision period is a learning period. Adults are facing the problem of integrating their own lives in the midst of a world of conflicting forces. The adult who does not receive a continuous religious education in such a time of crisis turns to his childhood knowledge, finds it inadequate for his need and utterly discards it and its associations. Or else he holds fast fanatically to that childish knowledge and bolsters it with every bit of legal and religious dogmatism that he can lay his hands on. Knowledge of that kind is not an asset in the day of crisis. It is a liability because it consumes energy that should be spent in creative advancement. What we need in our Seminaries is not only clinical experience with people in trouble, but also clinical experience in aiding normal adult people in the process of spiritual growth. The majority of our people are normal and, unhappily, there are too many of us among the clergy who do not know how to help them grow spiritually. Jesus' chief task was not in teaching abnormal people, but in revealing the hidden capacity of ordinary adult people and in helping them to feel that they had a necessary part in God's plan. He diagnosed men's spiritual condition and then led them to see that they existed for a higher purpose than that to which they were giving their lives. This sense of being necessary to God's plan gave them courage and the desire to win others into coöperation with that purpose. In the winning of others, they themselves grew in spiritual stature. We today do not set people to winning others, nor do we teach them how. What we do is to ask them to support missions and then wonder why they do not give us better support than they do. Truths which are not fully understood and only half learned are not eagerly carried to others. When such truths are felt to be effective in our own lives, we are glad to share them with others. In the process of sharing them with others, we add to our own spiritual stature. The Master Himself realized this and used his disciples as teachers of others even while they were still spiritually

immature. In the task of teaching others, they themselves achieved spiritual manhood.

Ours is the privilege and the task of awakening our people to their own potentiality and of providing the nurturing means by which their latent powers may grow and express themselves in service. We can do this only as we bring home to our people the fact that God is still eager to reveal spiritual truth to us in proportion to our effort to develop our capacity to receive it. We can do this effectively only as the whole possibility of spiritual growth is realized as the primary requisite of life and that the Church's various forms of service are merely the inevitable channels through which our growing spirit presses on toward the Kingdom of God. When each Church member is helped to become conscious of his necessary part in God's plan and of the way in which he can fit himself to fulfill that part, the gifts of life and of wealth for the extending of the Church's work will flow naturally and gratefully therefrom without emotional appeals or high pressure methods. The realization by each individual of his necessary part in the whole purpose of God will also bring new zest into life. No longer will people fear life because of their immature quantitative conceptions of God and of His power. Life will become a thrilling adventure because they will realize that the real value of life lies in its quality of devotion to God's purpose and that that quality can be constantly improved by continuous religious education. Ours is the responsibility for seeing to it that men are trained so that as followers of the Master they may "go about all the cities and villages teaching in their synagogues."

LITURGICAL DISCOVERIES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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I. A FRUITFUL FIELD

The history of Christian Worship is the last great field of theological studies to be explored; perhaps the only one where there still remain blank spaces on the map, to reward the venturesome pioneer with the distinction of an original discoverer.

In no other department has there been such rapid and substantial progress during the present century. It is within this period that former liturgical studies have flowered into a definite Liturgical Movement, with practical as well as historical objectives, and affecting alike the English, Lutheran, and Roman communions; and this in turn has borne abundant fruit in further knowledge. Intensified interest, coupled with intensified industry, have during this short time uncovered rather more actual knowledge of the evolution of Christian Liturgies than all that had been previously attained.

Our own country has not altogether kept abreast of these developments. It may be of interest to review the recent history, and examine the present state of the question, with a particular consideration of the manner in which certain results have been obtained. For reasons of space, we must limit our account to the Liturgy for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

II. THE QUEST FOR THE PARENT FORM

It was early recognized, and has long been known by everyone, that the many national rites of the Church classified themselves into a few related groups or regional types: Gallican and Roman in the West, Alexandrian and Syrian in the East. But until the

present century there was not only no assured knowledge, there had not appeared even a probable hypothesis, as to the character of that common original which, each and all, they unanimously intimate by an underlying identity of plan.

There is no extant MS of the Greek *St Mark* before the twelfth century; none of *St James* before the ninth; none of the Byzantine rites before the eighth; none of Western Sacramentaries before the seventh. "Spurious!"—"Interpolated!"—cried the Protestant controversialists at the Reformation. To this, it was speedily pointed out that the schisms of the fifth century had created vernacular liturgies in Syria and Egypt, in churches out of all touch with the original "Orthodoxy" of the Empire: and therefore that when you find known Greek passages confirmed word for word in the corresponding vernacular version of a schismatic church, to that extent you have established the Greek text as of a time before the schism; precisely as a Syriac or Latin version of the Scriptures bears witness to a state of the biblical text at the time of the translation.

But there were still upper limits to our chronological certitudes. Just what happened *before* the fifth century was anybody's guess; and some remarkable guesses were made. Dr. Ferdinand Probst devoted incredible labors and appalling erudition through an unusually long lifetime to advocating the theory that the "literary" text of the Liturgy enshrined in the great compilation known as the *Apostolic Constitutions* was in fact none other than the lost "One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Liturgy,"¹ essentially as it emerged from the labors of the College of the Apostles before they separated from Jerusalem! This Liturgy is the longest and most elaborately rhetorical text for the celebration of the Eucharist that has ever been known: its "Preface" of thanksgiving to God for the benefits of the creation and preservation of mankind contains over 1200 words of Greek! Yet according to Dr. Probst, this amazing composition ought to be taken as the prime *fons et origo* of all other liturgical forms; he believed that all subsequent rites display the fragmentary survivals of its degen-

¹ *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Münster in Westfalen, 1893), 319.

erative abbreviations. For its immediate successors in the Syrian group, this contention contained some element of truth. But in general, the theory is comparable with a favorite mediaeval conception of the glories of man's Primitive State, whereby admiring theologians considered that even Aristotle, whom they regarded as the greatest intelligence who had ever lived, was "the mere rubbish of an Adam!"

The death-knell of this engaging hypothesis was sounded in 1900 by Dr. Brightman's publication of the "Sacramentary" of Serapion,² definitely authenticated as the work of the contemporary and close friend of St Athanasius, and furnishing a formative stage of the Alexandrian rite about the year 350. This was rather before the time commonly accepted for the production of the *Apostolic Constitutions*; and Serapion is sufficiently different in structure and content from that work, and displays enough more primitive traits, that its derivation therefrom was seen to be highly improbable.

But in 1916 an utterly revolutionary study was published by Dom Connolly, an English Benedictine.³ For some time it had been known that the Church in Abyssinia was in possession of some liturgical material which was entirely *sui generis*. The Abyssinian *Synodos* or Book of Canon Law enshrined a long treatise containing disciplinary and liturgical material, including forms for Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Orders, and a Eucharistic Canon or *Anaphora* on a different basis from anything known elsewhere, since it was a single uninterrupted prayer wholly lacking *Sanctus* and Lord's Prayer, and very individual in its expressions. Furthermore, this peculiar *Anaphora* was actually in use, fitted into the Egyptian framework or "common order" of the Ethiopic Rite, and employed as the normal and most frequently used one of the fifteen alternative *Anaphorae* current in that Church. Accordingly Dr. Brightman in 1898 had printed this matter from the *Synodos* in his *Liturgies* under the

² *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. I, nos. 1 and 2.

³ *The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents*, in *Texts and Studies*, vol. VIII, no. 4 (Cambridge, 1916).

title of "The Ethiopic Rite," as well as incorporating it in his version of "The Liturgy of the Abyssinian Jacobites."⁴

At the time, that disposition of the question seemed logical enough, as the Eucharistic matter was, so far, entirely unique, and did represent a living rite. Yet it was known that the rest of the document in the *Synodos* (omitting the forms for the Eucharist) was extant also in two Coptic dialects and in Arabic, besides being embodied in much edited versions in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and in the *Syriac Testament of Our Lord*.

An entirely different face was put on the problem, however, by the publication in 1900 of a palimpsest found in the Chapter Library at Verona, giving a somewhat crude but evidently very faithful Latin rendering of the same text, *including the Eucharist*.⁵ No longer was it tenable to assume that this Liturgy was a peculiar possession of the Church in Abyssinia, or even that it was of Abyssinian *provenance*.

This problem Dom Connolly set himself to solve; and it may suffice to say that his brilliant analysis has commented itself to all liturgical scholars worthy of the name throughout the world.

Connolly's conclusion was that the document underlying all these versions and editions (several members of which actually bore the name of Hippolytus) was nothing other than the lost book bearing the title *The Apostolic Tradition*, written by St Hippolytus of Rome at a date which Dr Easton has identified with some precision as about the year 217.⁶

Recent investigations have done much to clear away the dense mists of the rolling years which have gathered between our day and the time of Hippolytus, and which left him a dim, uncertain, and almost legendary figure of extreme Christian antiquity. Indeed, Hippolytus very early became the Church's "forgotten man." Only a century after his martyrdom in the year 235, Eusebius vouchsafed the opinion that he was a bishop of "a

⁴ *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1898), 189-193, 228-233.

⁵ E. Hauser, *Didascalia apostolorum fragmenta veronensis latina* (Leipzig, 1900).

⁶ *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Cambridge, 1934), 25, 63.

church somewhere" (*H. E.* vi, 20); and a little later Jerome, himself Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, found himself "unable to learn the name of his city"! (*Vir. illust.* 61). The Latin service-books to this day remember him only as a "Presbyter and Martyr"; their historians confuse him with other worthies of the same name, or attribute to him a suffragan bishopric which he never possessed.

Actually he was a very vivid personality and a most important figure. Born about the year 160, he was a pupil of Irenæus, and became a powerful and assiduous controversialist, and the unquestioned leader of the Greek-speaking party of the early Roman Church. Dr Cheetham was quite right in speaking of him as "the most remarkable man of letters which the Church of Rome produced in the first three centuries."⁷ He was intensely conservative, and strongly puritanical; violently opposing Pope Callistus on Christological questions, and in the controversy over post-baptismal sin. Indeed, to Hippolytus the Church is always the "Holy" Church; it would probably be correct to say that he was the "author" of this Note of the Church in the Creeds. At the height of these controversies, Hippolytus withdrew from the party of Callistus, and became a schismatical bishop of the Greek community at Rome. He was therefore really the first of the Anti-Popes; and it speaks well for the tolerance and ultimate good sense of the Roman Church that she has impartially, if somewhat forgetfully, canonized both these able men who fought so bitterly during their lives, and both laid down their lives for their faith.

A chief reason for the oblivion which early clouded Hippolytus' name and fame was the unfortunate fact that he came almost at the end of the period of the use of the Greek language in the Roman Church. Just as in the case of his still more celebrated predecessor Irenæus, ignorance of the language in which he wrote caused his writings to be neglected in his own region of the West; and eventually most of his more than fifty books were lost. Many of them were widely circulated in other parts of the Church, and translated into other tongues; a very few have survived, in

⁷ *Church History: Early Period* (London: Macmillan, 1905), 83.

some cases preserved through the centuries under the name of some later author. But it is the long forgotten and strangely recovered *Apostolic Tradition* which has revived his fame; and it is for this work that he is destined to be celebrated henceforth, so long as the Christian Church shall endure upon earth.

After the *Didaché* of subapostolic times, the *Apostolic Tradition* is the first of those interesting manuals known as the "Church Orders." These were the Church's early "consuetudinaries," recording current ritual and disciplinary practices during the period when both laws and liturgies were forming. And of them all, the *Apostolic Tradition* is far the most important, since it was the fundamental stem from which the others grew. All later Church Orders indeed are only recensions and revised editions of the work of Hippolytus.

This book was written just at the psychological moment, when all regional liturgies were inevitably tending to crystallize out of a fluid order of thought into a fixed expression of words. In the chemical laboratory, sometimes a solution can be boiled down to its saturation-point, and then cooled to room-temperature, without losing its liquid form. But if the smallest fragment of the salt is then dropped in, *flash!* the beaker is solid with crystals! So it seems to have been with the *Apostolic Tradition*; the fixation of the Great Liturgies dates from their contact with this text.

The book was circulated throughout the Universal Church. Upon every known liturgy it has left its structural stamp. The rite of the *Apostolic Constitutions* was directly based upon it, and has one paragraph incorporated word for word. An only less striking influence was exercised upon the liturgy of St Basil of Cæsarea, the earliest of the Byzantine line. But all other historic liturgies were likewise affected.

For instance, the liturgy of the *Apostolic Tradition* was that said by the new bishop at his own consecration; and its Thanksgiving was specially framed to bear witness to his orthodoxy in the faith. This is the origin of the distinctly creed-like passage which is such a marked feature of the Eastern rites generally, and whose source has sometimes been taken to be Nicene influence.

Also, in this Thanksgiving, whose central subject is the Redemption through Christ, Hippolytus mentioned *most incidentally* the work of the Logos in Creation, precisely as a like allusion is included in the Nicene Creed. And this theme in turn received a very considerable expansion in all the Eastern *Anaphoræ*, becoming the chief if not the sole subject of the "Preface." Therefore it is labor lost when the German Protestant school try to make out that the Thanksgiving for the Creation is a Jewish inheritance, to which the Thanksgiving for the Redemption is a Christian pendant.⁸ Equally were the older liturgiologists at fault who represented that the Western liturgies had allowed the varying Christian commemorations of the Church Year to supplant this supposed primordial passage of praise to God the Creator.⁹ On the contrary, the Western Prefaces, dealing mostly with phases of the Incarnation, varying with the festivals, are in fact closer to the Hippolytean norm than the Eastern rites, whose development of the Creation theme, in the light of Hippolytus' fundamental order of thought, is manifestly a deforming over-growth.

Nor must one omit to mention that Hippolytus has an explicit Invocation of the Holy Ghost "upon the sacrifice of the Holy Church" a century before Nicæa—and hence a century before certain English "Westernizers" (who dislike the *Epiclesis*, and prefer the theory of the Words of Institution as a formula of consecration) have been wont to admit that any such Invocation was conceivable in a Christian liturgy.

After all this, it is only an added picturesqueness that the *Apostolic Tradition*, reaching the church in Abyssinia in the tenth century in an Ethiopic translation of an Arabic translation of a Coptic translation of the Greek original, succeeded in impressing the authorities of that remote church by its somewhat diverse virtues of antiquity, and of brevity, so as actually to oust the various *Anaphoræ* of the parent Alexandrian order from ordinary use in their rite. It is probably the most romantic destiny

⁸ H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (Bonn, 1926), 125-132, 174 ff.

⁹ Probst, *op. cit.*, 370 ff, 465 ff.

which a literary document has ever known, that this, our earliest standard liturgical text, utterly lost in its original language and in the place of its nativity, should have survived in continual use in the heart of Africa to the present day!

The identification of the *Apostolic Tradition* raised some further problems, which proved to be the gates to further knowledge. I have intimated that this rite lacked the *Sanctus*, being a single prayer without pause from *Sursum Corda* to Doxology. This harmonizes perfectly with what St Paul and St Justin Martyr have to say about the eucharistic "Thanksgiving." And it receives further confirmation by the canon of the Council of Vaison in Gaul in the sixth century, which explicitly ordered the *Sanctus* to be used at *all* masses, even "early services, in Lent, and at requiems"¹⁰—clearly indicating an added feature which had not yet become quite universal. And indeed it is the plain fact that the *Sanctus* is *always* an interruption of the thought of the Thanksgiving; and it really is quite conclusive that it is not inserted in precisely the same place in any two liturgies. Even before the recovery of the *Apostolic Tradition*, this other evidence had caused Dr Frere to surmise that perhaps the *Sanctus* had not been part of the archetype of the historic liturgies, but an innovation at some early period.¹¹ Hippolytus brings us the definite evidence that it was not used in the Greek liturgy at Rome in 217. But when and where was the addition made?

Scholars generally have assumed that the liturgical *Sanctus* was already in use as early as the year 95, at which time St Clement of Rome quotes it, introduced by exactly the same conflation of a text from Daniel and a text from Isaiah as in most Eastern rites.¹² Normally, this would indeed be decisive; for in the lack of more direct evidence, we freely admit the witness of allusions and even of verbal "echoes," displaying only a partial identity of phrase, as establishing liturgical use. In other words,

¹⁰ Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, II, 1114.

¹¹ Proctor and Frere, *A New History of the B. C. P.* (London: Macmillan, 1905), 437 note 2.

¹² 1 Cor. 34; cf. Parsons and Jones, *The American Prayer Book* (Scribners, 1937), 177.

it would not matter that Clement does *not* say explicitly that he was quoting the Liturgy; but it is fatal that on the contrary he *does* say that he was quoting "Scripture." And manifestly, it becomes impossible to assert that the *Sanctus* was an established feature in the Liturgy of Rome at the end of the first century, when Hippolytus, standing in the same Greek tradition of the same center, wholly ignored it more than a century later.

Now it happens that the first two possible allusions to a liturgical use of the *Sanctus* to which such objections do not apply come from North Africa at the beginning of the third century; the next, after some interval, from Alexandria.¹³ I have therefore suggested¹⁴ that someone in the vicinity of Carthage, about the year 200, appropriated St Clement's purely *literary* allusion to use in the text of the Liturgy; that this use spread first to Egypt; but had not reached Rome by the year 217.

The same argument about a differing place of occurrence in the rite—an almost sure sign of an interpolation after liturgies had begun to be fixed—applies to the Lord's Prayer, which is also lacking from the liturgy of Hippolytus, and whose omission from the *Apostolic Constitutions* has long been one of the standing enigmas of liturgical studies. St Cyril of Jerusalem first mentions it in his Catechetical Lectures in the year 347;¹⁵ but no other Father happens to allude to it as used in the Liturgy until the year 400;¹⁶ by which date it must have become universal, since thereafter patristic references to it come thick and fast all over the world.

Again, where and when did it originate? In our book (p. 173), I suggested Jerusalem, and a time as close as possible to St Cyril, in order to minimize the difficulties of its absence from the rite of the closely associated Church of Antioch, as represented, surely not much later, by the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Egypt also is eliminated by the silence of Serapion. But it seems that I was

¹³ *Acts of Perpetua*, c. 12, and Tertullian *De orat.* 3; Clement Alex., *Stromata* vii. 12, and Origen, *C. Cels.*, viii. 34.

¹⁴ Parsons and Jones, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ *Cat. Myst.*, V. xxiii. 11-18.

¹⁶ Sinesius, *De regno* 9.

too hasty in dismissing the entire West, through putting undue weight on the words of St Augustine (†430), when he said that "almost every Church" used it at the Eucharist, indicating that the custom was not quite unanimous in the West even in his time.¹⁷ However, it happens that St Cyprian of Carthage (†258) employs an absolutely undeniable "echo" of the proem, *Præceptis salutaribus moniti*, etc., some form of which is universal in the Western uses to introduce the Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy.¹⁸ It really seems therefore that this feature also must have had its source in the lost Liturgy of North Africa, no text of which has survived to our day, and which is imperfectly known only in the incidental allusions of the Fathers of that region. It may still be true that Jerusalem, from about 340, was the center from which this innovation spread to the other Eastern rites.

It is hardly necessary to go into further detail to indicate the profound effect that the identification of the *Apostolic Tradition* has had on the whole field of liturgical studies, and the general reconstruction of liturgical history which is resulting from consideration of this primary and really basic root-stock of the established eucharistic rites throughout the Universal Church.

III. BYZANTINE BEGINNINGS

All this new illumination of parts of the third and fourth centuries has made us realize how many dark corners remain in this period, especially in the fourth—a time when there is really a great deal of evidence about some things, but when many things happened about which there is none, since at this era the Church, freed for the first time from the menace of the Persecutions, proceeded to elaborate and settle its forms of worship with enormous fertility and amazing speed.

In one seemingly minor field, all the necessary data have lain right on the surface, under the eyes of the scholars of the world, for more than 200 years, ready for the first student to make a somewhat important discovery who took the trouble to apply a

¹⁷ *Ep.*, 149. 16.

¹⁸ *De dominica oratione*, 2.

very simple test. This is the Nestorian, East-Syrian, or "Persian" Rite, whose modern form, the *Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, enjoys the doubtful distinction of totally lacking the narrative of the Institution. Renaudot, its first editor, in 1716 maintained that this, the briefest and most often used of the three Nestorian *Anaphoræ*, should be regarded as the original form of the rite, which the other two, *Nestorius* and *Theodore the Interpreter*, had enriched with Byzantine material.¹⁰ And this dictum has been repeated, parrot-fashion, by every liturgiologist since.

Now it is extremely seldom in any age, and quite unexampled in antiquity, that a schismatic church should condescend to have anything to do with the body from which it has separated. I therefore found myself curious about this mysterious "Byzantine" borrowing; and speedily discovered that it consisted of taking unmistakable phrases from *both* the surviving liturgies of the Church of Constantinople, *St Basil* and *St Chrysostom*. Unquestionably my predecessors had found as much, but had been intimidated by the very peculiarity of the evidence from making a more definite statement about it. But I persisted in making a simple collation of the material in the form of a comparative analysis in five parallel columns.

After that, it was absolutely self-evident as to what had happened. Staring me in the face was the remarkable but incontestable fact that when Nestorius was expelled from the see of Constantinople in 435, he had taken with him a composition of his own, which actually conflated, intertwined, and consolidated into one order the two current Byzantine *Anaphoræ*, in a new *Anaphora*, which to this day is quite properly called by his name. This unique *tour de force* Nestorius executed with an authority, a freedom, and a fidelity, which strikingly remind one of the masterly hand of the illustrious Cranmer.

And this collation equally revealed the other Nestorian *Anaphoræ* of *Theodore* and *The Apostles* as abbreviations—in the latter case, a somewhat disastrous degeneration—of Nestorius'

¹⁰ *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio* (Frankfurt, 1847), II. 562 ff, 633.

own rather lengthy composition. Quite otherwise than as Renaudot had naïvely thought *à priori*, it is a general fact of observation that in a related group it is the shorter rite that survives in most common use, the longer and more rhetorically elaborate that is the most ancient.

Now this result is not a mere liturgical curiosity, pertaining to a very minor and barely surviving heretical communion. Its historical significance lies in the fact that it actually authenticates all the outstanding phrases of both the great Byzantine liturgies as having stood in the year 435 in precisely the form in which they still survive. And thereby it renders most probable the tradition presented in the *Tract* attributed to St Proclus of Constantinople (†446), to the effect that St Basil of Cæsarea († 379) and St Chrysostom of Constantinople (†407) really themselves composed the liturgies which bear their names.

IV. THE ROMAN CANON

We should be glad of any process which would do as much for our knowledge of the Western Rites. Heirs of the Western tradition, what we should most like to learn is the origin of the Roman Canon of the Mass. This venerable monument, which has stood absolutely unaltered from the time of Gregory the Great, is on the whole the most obscure and perplexing liturgical formula known. Its *rationale*, even its sheer grammatical (and in some cases, ungrammatical!) meaning, are matters as to which there is no agreement among Roman apologists to the present day. As to its origin, some very foolish hypotheses have been argued by some very learned men. In quite recent years, the dawn of a sane historical method has begun to appear from the French Benedictines. Yet even they have by no means thought through this greatest enigma of liturgical studies.

As the Benedictines have indicated, the approach to this problem must be through a comparative study of the related group of Western rites in whose midst the Roman is found, and to which they rightly maintain that it belongs. These are the va-

rious national Uses commonly lumped together under the general designation of the "Gallican," from their most outstanding exemplar; though it is in Spain that this type survives as a living rite (the Mozarabic), and though there are abundant traces showing that this general Use formerly prevailed also in Ireland, Germany, and even North Italy: and we are coming to the conclusion that it once held the entire field throughout all western Europe.

Unfortunately, until the present century the liturgiologists were so titillated by finding "Eastern" details in Gallican regions, that they completely wasted their time trying to demonstrate and account for an Eastern—particularly an "Ephesine"—origin of the Gallican liturgies, entirely independent of the Roman. Duchesne poked a little innocent fun at the eager Anglican acceptance of this line of reasoning (though in fact nineteenth-century Anglicans were not a whit more astray than most Romans, or indeed than Duchesne himself, as to the actual explanation) by saying of their desire to trace their own liturgical ancestry to the venerable St John of Ephesus, "Être apostolique sans être romain—c'est bien séduisant!"²⁰

What no one succeeded in realizing in the last century was the absolutely world-wide influence of the Great Rite of Constantinople upon every orthodox communion during the fifth and sixth centuries. This influence in fact affected Rome to quite as great a degree as it did Milan and Lyons; and makes the theory of a distinctive "Eastern" origin of the Gallican rites quite an unnecessary hypothesis.

The modern French scholars have seized upon the outstanding fact that the important question is not this or that detail, but the general principle that every Eastern liturgy, outside of course the Lessons and the Canticles, is utterly invariable on every occasion; while the Gallican rites on the contrary, outside the Institution-narrative and the Lord's Prayer, varied every part with every occasion. Now in the Roman, the framework and the Canon are fixed; but the three or four Proper Collects and the Proper Prefaces varying with the day, and the occasional inter-

²⁰ *Origines du culte chrétien* (Paris, 2nd ed., 1889), 85 note.

polation into the prayers actually within the present Canon, strongly hint at a condition before the Canon was unalterably prescribed.

This general form of the evidence is really quite decisive in indicating that the structural affinities of the Gallican rites are with Rome, not with the East; that the Western Use probably originated in Rome, and radiated therefrom; and that the Roman Rite once resembled the "Gallican" survivals from the rest of Europe much more closely than it does now.

The remaining Gallican texts present a most voluminous and most complicated study. Since, as I have said, every part of the service varies with every occasion, each mass is a series of variable Collects; and each day presents virtually a complete Liturgy. It is no wonder that the evaluation of the evidence has been slow; and there is still a very great field for research.

Two points stand in the foreground. One is that the Roman Canon also is not a single Prayer of Consecration. It also is a chain of Collects. Some of them actually retain seemingly adventitious and liturgically unjustified "*Amens*"—which in every case faithfully mark the terminations of constituent blocks of matter of different dates and origins.

The other point is that there are many places scattered through the Gallican books where there are verbal identities of phrases in the Roman Canon. In time past, these were politely ignored, as probably being borrowings from the Great Rite of Rome. Of course as to that, nothing can actually be demonstrated either way; but it has begun to dawn upon students that it is at least equally possible that these identities may not be the effect of Roman influences, but may mark the original text and context from which the Roman prayers themselves were taken! Dr Frere, in his last work, published just before his death this year, was at pains to catalogue many of these identities, with the intimation that they were possible source-material.²¹

Though it is probable that some lifetimes of exact study intervene between our present knowledge and the scientific demonstra-

²¹ *The Anaphora* (London: S. P. C. K., 1938), 149 ff.

tion of these mooted points, I personally found myself sufficiently sure of the trend of the evidence that in our book I made a sweeping and downright assertion of something to which the advanced French historians have made only a diffident and somewhat distant approach, saying: "During the last half of the fourth century the Roman Canon was crystallized out of a fluid order displaying extreme variability in detail, by a process of arbitrary selection among alternative formulæ current at the time."²²

But I also found myself impelled to take another step, and a somewhat long and important one, as to the origin of the Roman Canon.

It is well known that the text of the central prayers of the Canon is first found in the treatise "On the Sacraments." The majority opinion has been that this book is *not* the work of St Ambrose, to whom old tradition ascribed it; but that it is a rewriting of the authentically Ambrosian treatise "On the Mysteries," probably by someone in North Italy early in the fifth century. A most careful collation of the two texts convinced me that it was impossible that there was any *literary* dependence of one work upon the other; and I came to the conclusion that there was every probability that *both* works were the independent reports of hearers of St Ambrose's catechetical lectures, presumably in different years. I therefore join with Probst, Cabrol, and the very respectable minority opinion of scholars throughout history, in attributing the substance of the *De Sacramentis* to St Ambrose himself; and assign to it a date around the year 387.²³

Now *De Sacramentis* contains a simple form of the Roman prayers *Quam oblationem*, *Qui pridie*, *Unde et memores*, *Suplices te rogamus*, and *Supra quæ*. It seems to me most significant that these are precisely the parts of the Canon which no one has ever suggested to be unauthentic or subsequent additions to the original. They comprise very nearly the portions which Dr Eisenhofer concludes by a quite independent road to have been

²² *Op. cit.*, 171.

²³ Thompson and Srawley, *St Ambrose "On the Mysteries" and the Treatise "On the Sacraments"* (London: S. P. C. K., 1919), xvi.

the original nucleus of the Canon.²⁴ And it also happens that they constitute perfect examples of "Gallican" *Post-Sanctus* and *Post-Pridie* prayers, accompanying an early form of Institution-narrative: in other words, they are a complete "Gallican" Canon.

Hence I had no hesitation in asserting that in this form we have the primordial and germinal state of the Roman Canon, and in applying several inferences from the inherent *rationale* of the Gallican sources, to the clearing up of some immemorial enigmas of this ancient rite.²⁵

V. APOSTOLIC ORIGINS

One of the most recent of the researches into the origins of the Christian Liturgy is perhaps more fundamental than any other; since it carries our questing minds back of Roman Canon or Byzantine beginnings, back of the fixation of the text by the epochal work of Hippolytus, back of the celebrated first description of the Eucharist as already a definite Order and Rite in the time of St Justin Martyr, to the very earliest age of all, to the influence of St Paul, and the consideration of the rite of the Last Supper itself.

Since the middle of the second century, all known liturgies stand in a direct line of descent from a "catholic archetype" already established in the days of Justin. As I stated in our book: "Under all the diversities of their manifold historic forms, they all possess a unanimous fundamental tenor of a central Prayer of Consecration: consisting typically of a Thanksgiving to God for the Redemption, a narrative account of Christ's Institution, an Oblation of the sacrifice of the New Covenant in formal commemoration of Christ's Passion, and an Invocation of the power of God to bless the Gifts for the benefit of the partakers."²⁶

To Dr Hans Lietzmann belongs the credit for the assimilation of the evidence for an *entirely different* tradition of exceedingly early date, in a small group of rites which consecrated the

²⁴ *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik* (Freiburg: Herder, 1932-3), II. 166 ff.

²⁵ Parsons and Jones, *op. cit.*, 170 f.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 152.

Eucharist by some form of "table-blessing."²⁷ Most of this evidence is Gnostic; and therefore orthodox historians had considered themselves justified in ignoring it. But that is not scientific: since heretical forms most commonly reflect a yet earlier stage of the orthodoxy from which they separated. And such an attitude became impossible when a really candid eye was turned upon the very first of all the "Church Orders," that most primitive and unquestionably orthodox little manual, the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. This work can hardly have been later than the year 135, and some scholars have thought that it may date even fifty years earlier.

The prayers of the *Didaché*, composing absolutely our first liturgical text, consecrated the Eucharist with a particular Messianic modification of the known Jewish table-blessings as recorded in the *Mishnah*.²⁸ Lietzmann made the point, in effect, that in so doing they were actually repeating both *rite* and *ritual* of the Last Supper. He considered that thus the *Didaché* may well represent the most primitive form of the Christian observance; and that the other evidence may suffice to indicate that this use survived for some time in the Jewish-Christian circles of Syria. And the general structure of the "Catholic" type of consecration-prayer, with its Thanksgiving for the Redemption, its objective recital of the narrative of the Institution, and its explicit commemoration of the Passion, Lietzmann attributed to St Paul, on the excellent authority of his own words.

There is no doubt in my mind that this is a correct reading of the primordial evidence. It is the first explanation that has been offered which really bridges over the transformation of the simple observance of the Last Supper to the august solemnities of the historic liturgies.

Personally, I think we can venture even a little farther. I not only believe that the prayers of the *Didaché* reflect the general procedure of the Last Supper; it seems to me that there is a marvelous and unhoped-for possibility that this most primitive

²⁷ *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 197-255.

²⁸ Cf. Parsons and Jones, 155.

document has actually preserved the substance of the words which our Lord Himself spoke on that solemn occasion, when he "blessed" and "gave thanks" at the holy Table. This almost audacious conjecture can, of course, never be subjected to either proof or disproof; but it receives somewhat persuasive confirmation in the fact that we can identify certain salient phrases in the *Didaché* as almost unquestionably the "texts" for the elaboration of some distinctive themes by St John in the sixth, fifteenth, and seventeenth chapters of his Gospel.²⁹

As for St Paul, he has been accused of nearly everything, from being the inventor of the Sacraments to being the spiritual grandfather of John Calvin. It may conceivably be of some consolation to him that we are now enabled to pay his memory the belated but deserved tribute of having been the prime author of the eucharistic Prayer of Consecration which has survived in all the liturgies of the Universal Church.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

Church Congress Syllabus No. 3

**THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN AND
SALVATION**

PART I. THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN

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I. THE UNIQUENESS OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN

It is well, at the outset of this discussion, to emphasize the word *Christian* in our title. The Christian doctrine of sin differs from all other doctrines of sin and demands recognition of its uniqueness. *Sin* is itself primarily a religious term. Awareness of sin testifies to some awareness of God, however dim and confused that awareness may be. Any doctrine of sin, therefore, must be the reverse side of a doctrine of God. By necessity it is developed in intimate connection with that doctrine. As Canon Barry writes, "You cannot have any genuine sense of sin (in its full religious connotation) until you have seen some vision of God's glory."¹

Where sin is defined by some moral theory or system independent of religion, the religious element is merely disguised and unacknowledged. All moral systems rest upon some absolute conviction and "the dogmas of ethics are religious. They are assertions of faith, confessions of trust in something which makes life worth living, commitments of the self to a god."² Whether this "god" is the absolute value of the human individual, the world supremacy of a race, a human utopia, or "goodness, beauty, and truth," it offers the norm by which sin is judged. For re-

¹ Barry, F. R., *Christianity and the New World*, p. 190.

² Niebuhr, H. Richard, art., "Value-Theory and Theology" in *The Nature of Religious Experience*, p. 106.

ligion, faith is explicit and confessed as faith. The will of the divine judges men and their actions; disobedience to that will is sin. In any case, morality is religious and decision for or against the gods constitutes its essential character. Without the element of decision, mere conformity to group *mores*, if such a thing is possible, is not moral; decision, a religious core, gives action its moral significance. For Christianity, this means that the inner issue of all morality is that between true and false religion. The inner meaning of what appears to be moral and religious conduct may be decision for false gods. This discernment accounts for Christianity's profound distrust of all human goodness even when it earns social and religious approval. Jesus relentlessly exposed the motivation which blighted the Jewish virtues of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving.³ He condemned the ambition of the Zebedee brothers which corrupted even the hope of the Kingdom of God.⁴ Desire for heaven when heaven is conceived after our pleasure is merely "transcendental hedonism." "It is as pathetic as it is natural that human sin should express itself finally in an effort to corrupt the ultimate hope of the human spirit."⁵

Nowhere is this tendency to corrupt the highest moral achievements more finely dramatized than in T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*. In respect to his final struggle with Henry, Thomas Becket is subjected to four temptations. Three times he rejects using the Church for the ends of particular political groups, and chooses martyrdom in preference to social power. The fourth temptation, however, threatens to destroy these great gains by the invitation:

"Seek the way of martyrdom, make yourself the lowest
On earth, to be high in heaven."

The real human dilemma, as Thomas sees, lies in the question:

"Can sinful pride be driven out
Only by more sinful? Can I neither act nor suffer
Without perdition?"

³ Matt. 6.

⁴ Mark 10: 42-45.

⁵ Niebuhr, Reinhold, *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics*, p. 55.

Only profound religion understands this recurrence of temptation in each new level of moral accomplishment and knows that:

"The last temptation is the greatest treason:
To do the right deed for the wrong reason."

Such penetration can come only from a living encounter with God. Thomas's martyrdom was not merely the choice of one of several possible actions. The choice of martyrdom itself presented inner alternatives. It must be made in submission to the will of God, not in coveting a saint's reward.

It is allegiance to this truth, not the desire to be exclusive, that gives rise to the Christian word so offensive to moralism, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin."⁶ This was a favorite text for Augustine who himself wrote of the pagan virtues, ". . . those things which she (the soul) seems to account virtues, and thereby to sway her affections, if they be not all referred unto God, are indeed rather vices than virtue. For although some hold them to be real virtues, when they are desired for their own account, and nothing else; yet even so they incur vainglory, and so lose their true goodness."⁷

Christian theology holds sin to be opposition to God. The issue of obedience or disobedience cuts vertically through every hierarchy of human moral achievement. "The perfectible man of the doctrines of progress is not the man who is called to be restored by a new creation to the original *imago Dei*; the bad man of the moralists is not the sinful man of the Gospel."⁸ Indeed, the Gospel often completely reverses the judgments of human morality, as in the case of the Pharisee and the Publican. The repentant sinner is less sinner than his moral superior who does not know his own sin. To the latter, Christianity appears perverse, dangerous, and antinomian. He is baffled by, and resentful toward, its blunt word, "The publicans and the harlots go into the Kingdom of God before you."⁹

⁶ Romans 14: 23.

⁷ *The City of God*, Temple Classics edition, Book XV (XIX), ch. xxv.

⁸ Maury, Pierre, "The Christian Doctrine of Man" in *The Christian Understanding of Man*, p. 264.

⁹ Matt. 21: 31.

Sin, it has been contended, is a religious category meaning opposition to God. Because Christianity has a unique doctrine of God, it has also a unique doctrine of sin. The Christian doctrine concerns opposition to God who comes to meet man in Christ, a living, personal Christ in encounter with whom the Christian life takes place. And Christ is seen as the norm by which sin is disclosed not only for Christians but for the whole of human existence. The full dimension of human sin can be known only in his presence. In the New Testament, Christ is the Lord not only of the Church but also of the whole created order. By and in him the creation was called into existence,¹⁰ is continued in coherence,¹¹ and will be brought to its perfection.¹² That which is absolutely meaningful for human existence now, gives its meaning to the origination and destination of human existence. So also, that which is absolutely meaningful for human existence unveils the true nature of sin. Sin becomes for the later New Testament the work of *antichrist*. When St John writes, "Every one who doeth sin, doeth also lawlessness, and sin is lawlessness (*ἀνομία*)," ¹³ he leaves us in no doubt about his norm for sin. "Little children, let no one deceive you; he who doeth righteousness is righteous, as He ('Εκεῖνος) is righteous."¹⁴ All the more significant is this statement when it is understood as spoken against an apostate movement which claimed another norm than Christ for righteousness.

The Christian doctrine of sin, therefore, does not arise out of the Genesis myth of the Fall, nor out of man's judgment passed upon himself by any ethical teaching, even that of Jesus. It arises out of the human encounter with Christ, especially out of the Cross understood as God's judgment upon the human condition. Men are the sinners who crucify the Lord of Glory. At

¹⁰ Col. 1: 16, John 1: 3, etc.

¹¹ Col. 1: 17.

¹² Eph. 1: 10, etc.

¹³ I John 3: 4. St John never uses *δικαίωσις* except for the Jewish Torah, outside of which stand both Jesus and Christians. Typical is John 10: 34, "your law."

¹⁴ I John 3: 7.

the moment that God confronts man in the Cross, the true nature of man's opposition to God is revealed. To the faithful who accept the judgment of God, man's sin is both revealed and taken away. If it were not revealed, men would not know the depth of their sin. If it were not taken away, men would be forced to deny the truth of the revelation of their sin or their condition would be wholly intolerable.

But if the Christian understanding of sin issues from Golgotha, it is also the full significance of a view of sin developed by the religion of the Old Testament. Briefly put, as Christ transformed the Old Testament doctrine of creation by being seen as the agent in creation, so also he transformed the doctrine of sin by being seen as the God whom sin opposes. The New Testament casts its doctrine of sin into Old Testament forms and 'fulfills' the Old Testament content with its own content. In this sense, it is accurate to speak of a Biblical doctrine of sin as being consistent and Christian. Actually, this doctrine runs beside many others and is seen to be the essential one only because it is brought to its full significance in the New Testament.

II. THE FORM OF THE DOCTRINE OF SIN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

1. *Early Myths*

The profoundest myths of ancient peoples testify to a dark consciousness of guilt before the divine. In them man expresses responsibility for sin committed in ignorance and necessity. Usually, there is ambiguity both in the sense of the divine and in the sense of sin. An early Babylonian penitential hymn is characteristic:

"God, whom I know, do not know, my sins are many, great are my offenses,
Goddess, whom I know, do not know, my sins are many, great are my offenses,
The sins which I committed I know not,
The offenses that I have done, I know not."¹⁵

¹⁵ Jeremias, A., *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, Vol. I, p. 223.

In the early myths of the Bible, this sense of responsibility includes the totality of opposition to God and regards all human ills as punishment for defiance of God. In the Babel story, for instance, natural and cultural differentiations of the race are the punishments of a jealous God for the arrogant self-deification of civilization. Insomuch as the myth is ætiological, it is of course not true. Human rebellion against creatureliness which encroaches on the sovereignty of the divine did not bring about the dispersion and cultural cleavages of a unified humanity. On the other hand, while it is true that natural and social limitations would alone keep man from a paradisiac existence, they by no means exhaust the explanation of the terrible conflicts which arise out of these differences. For example, it is only when natural differences are raised to the level of absolute pretensions that warfares of annihilatory intents arise. Furthermore, overreaching pride is itself an element in every cultural achievement. As the myth sees, at the root of every civilization there lies pride, fear, and a desire for unity. "And they said, Come, let us build us a city, and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name; lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."¹⁶ Man, called into group-conscious existence, is haunted by the unity of nature in pre-conscious existence which he describes in terms of historical consciousness, "And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech."¹⁷ Fear lest this primeval unity be destroyed by group differences leads to titanic efforts to create a new unity of the race, a civilization. But the ambition of civilization, "let us make us a name," aspires to touch heaven, and enhances the divisions which it sought to prevent.

The Fall story of Genesis¹⁸ reveals the same characteristics. Adam disobeys God by trying to become a god. He refuses to remain a creature who obeys the divine commandment and yields to the temptation to know good and evil for himself. God casts

¹⁶ Gen. 11: 4.

¹⁷ Gen. 11: 1.

¹⁸ Gen. 3.

him put into historical existence as men now know it. The inequalities of sex, the pain of child-bearing, the recalcitrance of the soil, man's dependence upon nature for food, and mortality itself, are God's judgments upon man's God-defying pretensions to become God.

Again, insomuch as the Fall story is aetiological, it is untrue, but insomuch as it points to the paradoxical relationship of finitude and arrogant misuse of freedom, it is far profounder than all attempts to understand human ills chiefly in terms of physiological inequalities, natural limitations, economic and political complexities, and human ignorance. Finitude and sin are so inextricably interwoven that they cannot be separated even logically with any degree of accuracy. In that we do not know what nature would be like apart from human sin, there is this much truth, at least, in the Fall myth's conception of human sin corrupting physical nature. At the moment, it is suggested that the early Biblical myths refuse to admit that man's sin does not enhance all of the evils of his existence, or that any historical ill lies wholly outside of human responsibility.

2. *The Prophetic Understanding of Sin*

The relation of the early mythologies to the prophets of the eighth century is not clear. The myths, it seems probable, were finally redacted in post-exilic times but their prophetic insights antedate Amos.¹⁰ The prophets from Amos onward develop their own views of sin and history in apparent independence of earlier mythologies. Clearest and easiest to explicate is Hosea, who offers us a typical prophetic doctrine of sin. It may be succinctly stated as follows:

(a) Sin is corporate idolatry. The whole people is involved in responsibility for it and no individual or class is exempt. Israel's troubles and coming catastrophe are rooted neither in ignorance nor in the power and hostility of her foes. The people have forsaken God and given allegiance to false gods. Hosea

¹⁰ The myths we have used are from J, of course.

is direct. Israel is a harlot; she has not forsaken God for a true lover but for one who has bought her at her own price. "Thou hast played the harlot from thy God; thou hast loved hire upon every grain-floor."²⁰

(b) Idolatry arises out of the spirit of self-sufficiency. The false gods are the work of human hands;²¹ that is, they are fashioned to serve the people's ends, not to transform those ends. The prosperity that came from God, Israel appropriated to the merit of self. "And Ephraim said, Surely I am become rich, I have found me wealth: in all my labours they shall find in me no iniquity that were sin."²² Self-sufficiency not only sees grace as merited but also, when it inevitably fails, redoubles its reliance on men. The failure of kings gives rise to more and worse kings,²³ the trust in national arms²⁴ gives place to trust in alliances with Egypt and Assyria.²⁵ Israel's stubbornness increases under the word of God, "Besides me there is no savior."²⁶ "The more the prophets called them, the more they went from them."²⁷

No prophet exposed more clearly than did Hosea, the vicious circle into which men are led by self-sufficient pride. The failure of its objectives begets more frantic pride, whose objectives fail even more quickly. Neither her idols, her kings, her wealth, her arms, nor Assyria and Egypt can save Israel. She sold herself for a price but the price is not forthcoming. She has been self-deluded. As Berdyaev writes:

"Evil is a lie; it is always pretending to be that which it is not, and its seductive power lies in deception. The Devil is an impostor, having no source of life or being of his own. Everything he has he takes from God and then caricatures it; his power is fictitious, illusory, and deceptive. . . . Evil has always a negative character for it destroys life and being, in fact it destroys itself and there is nothing positive about it."²⁸

²⁰ Hosea 9: 1. Also 4: 11-14, 5: 4-7.

²¹ 8: 6, 13: 2, 14: 3.

²² 12: 8. Also 13: 6, 10: 1.

²³ 8: 4, 13: 9-10.

²⁴ 8: 14.

²⁵ 5: 13, 7: 11, 12: 1.

²⁶ 13: 4.

²⁷ 11: 2.

²⁸ *Freedom and the Spirit*, p. 166.

To this might be added also St Paul's dictum that the coming of Satan's deceptive power is also God's judgment. "And for this cause, God sendeth them a working of error, that they should believe a lie: that they might be judged who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."²⁹

(c) Sin corrupts the whole social organism. Since Hosea prophesied shortly before the complete collapse of the northern kingdom, his picture of social conditions is probably not over-drawn. For him, the ruptured relationship with God is also a ruptured relationship among men. Kings, princes, priests, pseudo-prophets, business men, land-owners, wives, and maidens, have been drawn into the maelstrom of sin. To forsake God is to forsake His law.³⁰ Apostasy issues in social sin. Social sin is practical apostasy which makes the religious cultus addressed to God idolatry in disguise. "They have not cried unto me with their hearts.³¹ . . . They return, but not to Him that is on high; they are like a deceitful bow."³²

(d) Sin is a principle in the interpretation of history. Hosea's doctrine of sin has been set forth in some detail because it gives us the relationship of the doctrine of sin to the whole prophetic outlook. It is related to all other theological doctrines by the concept *history*. Hosea's backward reach into history goes no further than the Jacob stories.³³ God's special concern for Jacob, however, is but the prelude to God's act of deliverance from Egypt, the special covenant relationship in the wilderness, and the grace-gift of Canaan to Israel.³⁴ God is Israel's God from the saving act which was the exodus. "Yet I am Yahweh thy God from the land of Egypt; and thou knowest no god but me, and besides me there is no savior."³⁵ For Hosea, as for Amos,³⁶

²⁹ II Thess. 2: 11-12.

³⁰ Hosea 4: 1-10, 8: 1.

³¹ 7: 14.

³² 7: 16.

³³ 6: 7 is not a reference to Adam. See R. V. margin.

³⁴ 9: 10, 11: 1, 12: 9, 12: 13.

³⁵ 13: 4.

³⁶ Amos 2: 10, 5: 25.

the wilderness period is the ideal period. It corresponds to the Golden Age of earlier myths; it is the time before the corrupt Now. For Hosea, there is also that which corresponds to the Fall. Israel's idolatry was immediately prior to the entrance into the promised land.

"Like grapes in the wilderness I found Israel;
Like the first-fruit on a fig-tree, I saw your fathers;
But as soon as they came to Baal-peor, they consecrated themselves to Baal,
And became as abominable as the object of their love." ⁸⁷

As the incident is recounted in Numbers 25, Baal-peor was the scene of an apostasy to a local god while Israel was camped outside of Canaan with Moses and Aaron. Hosea was not alone in regarding this event as important, as is evidenced by its treatment in Joshua 22:17 and Psalm 106:28. Hosea understands it to mean that the sin which now alienates Israel from God and brings destruction, was present in Israel from the beginning. Sin is an inherent element in human history, yet man is responsible for sin. The essential meaning of history is God's dealing with sinful men in judgment, forgiveness, and the overcoming of sin.

A further word about the prophetic understanding of responsibility for sin is perhaps necessary. In this, Hosea does not differ from the other prophets. He understands the responsibility which the priests bear for a new generation that has never known God in His true nature and moral law, which the ruling classes bear for their misuse of state and church and for their influence as examples, which the pseudo-prophets bear for their sanction of the *status quo*, which the men bear for the conduct of their wives and daughters, and which the land-owners bear for the whole condition of the poor whom they have expropriated. But he also understands the responsibility which the people bear for their religious, political, and social leaders. They were led astray not without their own desire. They have behaved as common men,⁸⁸ not as men in a special covenant relationship with God. They have ignored the true prophets.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Hosea 9: 10.

⁸⁸ 6: 7.

⁸⁹ 6: 4-6.

This interlocking responsibility so profoundly discerned by the prophets, forever forbids accurate human assessment of degrees of guilt. Most of all it forbids that the rational formulation of God's demands (legalism) be interpreted as limitation of those demands, and that the rational delineation of responsibility (an aspect of casuistry) be interpreted as limitation of responsibility. Both interpretations were given to prophetic teaching, as Jesus revealed so clearly.

III. THE CHRISTIAN NORM FOR SIN

1. *Jesus and the Torah*

The prophets presupposed a covenant and a law. Historical criticism has shown, however, that the law of which they spoke was not the Mosaic Law as we now have it. In reality, the present *Torah* is the result of the interaction of the early tribal *mores* of a nomadic people with the prophetic spirit in Moses and his successors. Law was codified prophecy which was changed by new prophecy into new codifications. Distilled into the final form which Jesus knew, was the spirit of the major prophets of Hebrew history. It is this inner spirit which Jesus set against current interpretations of the *Torah* and which led him to affirm no contradiction between himself and the "old time." "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy but to fulfill." ⁴⁰ The recurring words of St Matthew's Sermon on the Mount, "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time," must be understood in the light of its meaning in the sixth reiteration, "Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy. . . ." ⁴¹ "Hate thine enemy" is not a part of the Law, but of a current interpretation which limits "neighbor." Jesus abolishes the limiting interpretation. The Law's "neighbor" includes the "enemy." It would seem, therefore, that the six clauses of the Sermon should be read, "Ye have heard (from current interpreters) that it was said to them of old time. . . but I say unto you that (its true

⁴⁰ Matt. 5: 17.

⁴¹ Matt. 5: 43.

meaning is . . .)." This applies directly to three of the six Old Testament precepts with which the Sermon deals and gives one of Jesus's two primary principles of interpretation of the Law. The first of these principles is revealed in the precept to love.⁴² The Law as the revelation of the will of God is built upon the Father's authority and the son's duty to imitate Him. God loves without limiting partiality, sending sun and rain upon all men. So also must his sons love men, else they will in no wise surpass the publican and the Gentile. This "imitation of God" in love toward men underlies the Law, and does not restrict the prohibition of murder to overt action. The Law forbids the inward anger as well as the outward murder,⁴³ the inward lust as well as the outward adultery.⁴⁴ The letter of the Law points inward toward its spirit. The spirit illuminates the letter and prevents its becoming merely the letter. It is not obvious, however, that such is the meaning of the precepts on divorce, oaths, and retributive justice. The Law does permit divorce, enjoin the keeping of oaths, and legalize retaliation. This fact leads to the second of Jesus's principles of Law interpretation. It distinguishes between the aspect of the Law which is intended to protect persons from existing sin, and the aspect of the Law which is a revelation of the Father's moral will. In St Mark 10:2-9, Jesus contrasts Moses setting forth the pure will of God for marriage, and Moses legislating to restrict human sin. There is implied no condemnation of the latter policy. The divorce law was made "with regard to your hardness of heart"; that is, it was made to protect women from the worst consequences of men's sin in casting them out.⁴⁵ A law made to restrict the effects of sin inevitably legalizes sin. Such a law must not be mistaken for God's will for men. Those who so use it are condemned by Jesus's teaching.

⁴² Matt. 5: 43-48.

⁴³ Matt. 5: 21-22.

⁴⁴ Matt. 5: 27-28.

⁴⁵ A woman "put away" without a bill of divorcement was neither marriageable nor a wife. The ambiguous status had disastrous social and economic results. The woman, of course, could not divorce her husband, in Hebrew society.

This distinction between law which recognizes sin in order to restrict it and law which prohibits sin, is the clue to the Sermon's teaching on oaths and retaliation as well as divorce. In the very compromise which requires oaths to be performed, the human sin of perjury is revealed. "But let your speech be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: and whatsoever is more than these is of the evil one."⁴⁶ So also the law which limits revenge reveals revenge as sinful by the necessity of restricting it.⁴⁷ To take advantage of these laws because they exist would be to violate the essential spirit of the Law. It seems to be true, therefore, that here again Jesus is setting himself against interpreters who limited the real and inner meaning of God's revealed will, and not against the Law. Limiting interpretation perverts the Law and changes it into human teaching. "Ye leave the commandment of God, and hold fast the tradition of men."⁴⁸

2. *Jesus's Teaching on Love*

Insomuch as Jesus was teacher, he conceived himself to be recalling the people to God's will as it was revealed in the *Torah*. The obligation of the son to imitate his Father in Heaven was simply stated by him as, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor." He abolished all human limitations which were placed on the word "neighbor." The obligation, as we saw, includes our enemies. It goes beyond the love which reciprocates love. This, of course, is the meaning of the Parable of the Good Samaritan, according to St Luke's interpretation. It answers the question, "Who is my neighbor?" Jesus's injunction to the questioner who sought limiting definition of neighbor, was "Go, and do thou likewise" (i.e., show mercy as the Samaritan did).⁴⁹ This obligation of love which knows no restriction as to its human objects is not grounded upon the absolute value of human personality. On the contrary, it is grounded on the Christian's obligation to imitate God in his attitude toward men. This means that the obligation

⁴⁶ Matt. 5: 37.

⁴⁷ Matt. 5: 38-39.

⁴⁸ Mark 7: 8.

⁴⁹ Luke 10: 37.

is not vitiated by the moral condition of the neighbor, by his attitude to God and man, nor—least of all—by his attitude to “the Son.” It also means that love does not rest upon the potentialities of him whom is loved. It rests solely on God’s love for the other and His command to His sons to love likewise. As history amply demonstrates, any other ground for human love is precarious. The condition and possibilities of the neighbor may affect the mode of the Christian expression of love, but they do not touch its foundations.

Since this love is so central, it demands elaboration. What is it? Jesus’s commentary is simple and incredible. “All things, therefore, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them: for this is the law and the prophets.”⁵⁰ Love, for Jesus, was positive, ethical activity under an equalitarian ideal. His teaching explicates love with many such imperatives as *do, go, sell, give, heal, show mercy, cast out demons*.

Christian ethics cannot acquiesce in the conception that goodness lies in refraining from doing evil. Voluntary passivity not only withdraws from God and man the Christian’s due service, but it also remains involved in the sin of the world without protest. All profound religions of the negative way have realized that to refrain from doing evil is to cut oneself away from all ordinary human life, to flee this evil world in other-worldly asceticism and mysticism. Often this type of religion is opposed in the name of Christianity, but on the wrong grounds. Christianity does not disagree with life-negating asceticism in refusing to admit that all life is involved in evil. It disagrees in that it denies any way of disentanglement from evil other than by confronting and conquering it. This disagreement cannot be stated lightly, for it means that Christianity must be prepared to face an involvement in historical sin until the end of history. Jesus alone, Christianity maintains, escaped such involvement by making the perfect and completely active war on evil. “He dies not

⁵⁰ Matt. 7: 12. The “therefore” points backward to God who gives “good things to them that ask him,” and again we have this basic motivation, *imitatio Dei*.

because he has sinned but because he has not sinned. He proves thereby that sin is so much a part of existence that sinlessness cannot maintain itself in it. But he also proves that sin is not a necessary and inherent characteristic of life."⁵¹

3. *Jesus Embodies His Teaching*

Some sincere moralists of the "infinite progress" persuasion have argued that Jesus himself was a sinner by his own standards and that some levels of his teachings fall below absolute love. "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs" ⁵² seems to conflict directly with love, as do many of Jesus's actions. These men prefer to see Jesus as a great leader who shares human sin but pioneers in moral progress.

The answer to these men lies along three lines, I think. First, Christianity does not understand the meaning of love and, therefore, of sin, apart from the person of Jesus. The author of Ephesians restates the central principle of Christian ethics by giving love the concrete content of Christ's love. "Be ye, therefore, imitators of God, as beloved children; and walk in love, even as Christ also loved you, and gave himself up for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for an odor of a sweet smell."⁵³ Jesus's teaching cannot be abstracted from his life which gives depth to the teaching.

Second, all Jesus's words are not ethical teachings. Some are injunctions of a leader to his disciples in a historic situation under the necessities of strategy. Certainly God's will would not have been done if Jesus and his disciples had tarried with the first skeptical Pharisee they met until he was converted. Not giving pearls to swine does not prove disregard for swine. The passage centering in the word, "He that hath no sword, let him sell his cloak and buy one,"⁵⁴ has received a thousand interpretations. In context, it seems a strategical word. Once in history

⁵¹ Niebuhr, Reinhold, *Beyond Tragedy*, pp. 167-8.

⁵² Matt. 7: 6.

⁵³ Eph. 5: 1-2.

⁵⁴ Luke 22: 35-38.

human life was so bound up with the continuing of the Gospel in the world that guarding that life with a sword was an obligation under God. This does not contradict "Resist not the evil one"⁵⁵ which, in context, condemns retaliation. Jesus, himself, seems to have fled death at the hands of Herod as a matter of strategy in relation to his mission. At the right time, he walked deliberately into inevitable death. Strategy for one already sacrificed to God is not corrupted as our strategies are with love of self.

Thirdly, there is only one adequate way to describe the sinlessness of Jesus. He was not disobedient to his Messianic vocation. This is the meaning of his temptations in the wilderness. He did not misuse his Messianic power. Nor did he escape the vocation to proclaim the coming Kingdom by being changed into a mere healer by human need.⁵⁶ Nor did he turn aside from the Cross when God commanded it.

The question of the sinlessness of Jesus has been raised in order to show the inseparability of the absolute element of Jesus's teaching and his life and death. The conviction of the New Testament, of which Ephesians 5: 1-2 is typical, is that the teaching of Jesus is perfectly embodied in his life. Perfect obedience to the love ethic lies at the juncture of the Kingdom of God's fullness and "this age," the Cross. Profound understanding of this truth led the New Testament and the Christian Church to associate Baptism with death as well as with new life. Yet our death to sin and "this age" is not possible without, nor completed save in, Christ's death. "Or are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death?"⁵⁷

Did Jesus, then, teach an ethic of love which is not only impracticable but impossible? This question, so often asked, cannot be answered with a simple yes or no. Theologians give paradoxical answers that say literally or by indirection that Christian

⁵⁵ Matt. 5: 39.

⁵⁶ Mark 1: 35-39.

⁵⁷ Romans 6: 3.

love is an "impossible possibility." A beginning may be made by asking what Jesus regarded his love ethic to be.

First, it was a human symbol for the moral nature of the God whose Reign had partially penetrated "this age" and was confronting men in Jesus and his itinerant group. The Hebrew always saw God's nature as requiring a like nature in His people.

Secondly, it was the standard before which he demanded repentance. This explains why Jesus as the Messiah should also be "Prophet" and "Teacher." The prophetic role in the past had been to prepare men for a great act of God which combined judgment and re-creation. The pre-exilic prophets had prepared for the destruction of the Hebrew nation with its culture religion and the raising up of Judaism beyond the Exile. The prophet was expected, therefore, to prepare the people "before the great and terrible day of Yahweh come."⁵⁸ To prepare the people was "to turn" them; that is, to preach repentance. Adequate repentance requires an adequate norm for repentance. Jesus taught the inner essence of the *Torah* as part of the Preparation.

Thirdly, it was an absolute standard for the repentant individual's conscience. This may be put another way: it was directed toward an individual without reference to his social responsibilities. Typical is the misunderstood word, "Resist not the evil one." Insomuch as resistance arises out of egotistic retaliation it is absolutely forbidden. Insomuch as it arises out of our concern for the lives of those dependent upon our resistance, the injunction leaves us without guidance.

Fourthly, it was the relationship of men to be fully realized in the eschatological Kingdom of God. As such it has special reference to, and normative significance for, the social life of those who have entered the Kingdom as it has broken in upon this age.

In the latter two cases the love commandment presupposes the relation of sonship to God. In the former two cases, it came as a demand for repentance, as revealing the necessity for the relation of sonship to God. To unrepentance God's love came

⁵⁸ Malachi 4: 5-6.

as condemnation unto destruction, as moral demand which deepened opposition to it. To repentance, it came as a gift to which the best response is unworthy.

IV. THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN IN CONTEXT

From the beginning, as St John saw, there is one and only one kind of sin—opposition to God revealed in Christ. “He that doeth sin is of the devil: for the devil sinneth from the beginning.”⁵⁹ But there are two human attitudes toward that sin. One man denies sin’s reality, significance, and consequences, and thereby makes the God who reveals it a liar.⁶⁰ The other faces the fact of sin, confesses it frankly to God, accepts God’s forgiveness by which his relationship to God is maintained, and is cleansed by the power that relationship to God through Christ brings.⁶¹ St John understood this latter attitude to be a possibility only within the Christian fellowship, but the significance of that belongs to a discussion of the doctrine of the Church. So different are these attitudes toward sin, that St John speaks of them as two kinds of sin. Yet he affirms the essential character of all sin to be the same. “There is sin unto death. . . . All unrighteousness is sin: and there is sin not unto death.”⁶²

All sin opposes Christ and tends to destroy fellowship with God as it is maintained in the Body of Christ. All sin points toward its ultimate end—separation from God, and death. But sin confessed and forgiven is overcome and its direction thwarted. For a Christian sin sustained in pride is apostasy; for others, it is rejection of Christ. Its direction is fulfilled; it is unto death (*πρὸς θάνατον*).

The Christian doctrine of sin, like the Old Testament doctrine, comes from God’s meeting man in history with revelation. It can never be anything other than an element in the interpretation of history. For the Christian, history is understood as the struggle between Christ and sin. The Fall is the Christian myth

⁵⁹ I John 3: 8.

⁶⁰ I John 1: 8, 10.

⁶¹ I John 1: 9 and 2: 1-2.

⁶² I John 5: 16-17.

which describes the actuality of humanity's opposition to Christ. It is not an event in history; it is an element of history. Mythologically it follows Creation and is removed at the transformation of Creation. This means that it is not nature but a corruption of nature, not essentially human but inseparable from humanity.

The struggle between Christ and sin is both within and without the Christian. It is never completely identifiable with the conflict of historical groups. Sin may be driven back, overcome, kept bound, but it cannot be eradicated from history. Its destruction is above and beyond history. In the New Testament even the Millennium represents only a temporary binding of Satan.⁶³

It has always been easy for Christianity to abstract the struggle between Christ and sin from historical struggle. Platonism changed the New Testament contrast between "this age" and "the age-to-come" to a contrast between another world to which one can go and this world. This violates the Biblical tradition. Sin's greatest achievements lie in corrupting the presentation and reception of the Gospel.

God now, as in the first century, confronts men as the God who is in history but also above it. The Kingdom of God penetrates history but transcends it. The Messiah of the Kingdom is both God and man. This means that decision for Christ is also a complex of historical decisions which range from decision for the Church, for monogamous marriage, and for Christian Missions, to decision for economic justice. To love God is to love man. But it also means that none of these decisions (nor all of them) is identical with the decision for Christ. All of them may be made for other reasons than obedience to Christ and thereby turned into enemies of Christ. Since Christian lives are open to Him who is our Savior and Judge, they are not indissolubly united to any historical cause or work. They do not live or die with the life and death of economic orders, social institutions, political systems, or civilizations.

⁶³ Rev. 20: 7-8.

"For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. . . . If any man's work shall abide which he built thereon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved: yet so as through fire." ⁶⁴

But whether we be saved with or without our works, our present salvation from our sin and the world's is but an earnest of that which is to come.

"If we hope for that which we see not, then do we with steadfastness wait for it." ⁶⁵

Books for Study

Temple, William, *Nature, Man and God* (Macmillan) Lectures XIV, XV.
Christianity in Thought and Practice (Morehouse) Lectures II and III.
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics* (Harper)
Beyond Tragedy (Scribner)
 Harton, F. P., *The Elements of the Spiritual Life* (Macmillan)
 Brunner, Emil, *The Divine Imperative* (Lutterworth, London)
 Church, Community and State Series, *The Christian Understanding of Man* (George Allen and Unwin, London)
 Williams, N. P., *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin* (Longmans)
 Tennant, F. R., *The Fall and Original Sin* (Cambridge University Press)
The Concept of Sin (Cambridge University Press)
 Jung, C. G., *Psychology and Religion* (Yale University Press).

⁶⁴ I Cor. 3: 11, 14-15.

⁶⁵ Romans 8: 25.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Church through the Centuries. By Cyril Charles Richardson. Scribner, 1938, pp. x + 255. \$2.50.

The conditions of our time are leading rapidly to the rediscovery of the Church. From unexpected quarters, even in America where the sect-spirit has long held sway, voices are raised to insist that only as embodied in the Church can Christianity hope to survive in a world largely hostile. Again, no real advance toward unity can be made until we have reached a clear understanding of what the Church is and has been; of the nature of her mission and sanctions. It is not enough to urge the relevancy of the Church in the contemporary scene. One must inquire how it has been conceived of by great constructive Christian minds and under what forms it has played its role on the stage of history.

Dr. Richardson's book is thus both timely and typical. Evidently written to attract readers among the laity, it wisely avoids questions of formal doctrine (St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, is not so much as mentioned), to consider fundamental attitudes and principles and to show how these have found expression "through the centuries" in ecclesiastical organization. The author rightly insists that the early Christians "knew nothing of individualistic Christianity; they could not think of their belief apart from the Church." The Church, the one Body, was (and is) primary; the "churches" must always remain secondary, even though today the Church functions visibly through these secondary forms.

The medieval papal theocracy is traced back to Augustine's idea of the Church and of its relation to the State. More might well have been said about the moral sanctions of the Papacy in its greatest age; and the function of the penitential system as an effective means of moral and social control deserves more recognition than it is here given. It is hardly true to say that "the monks could divorce themselves from all territorial interests," since monastic corporations were notably belligerent in pressing their property rights against secular or spiritual rivals.

Protestant forms of the Church are considered with reference to the principles of Luther, Calvin, and Richard Hooker, with the Anabaptists exhibited as classical representatives of the sect type. We are reminded that the Reformers "were not the champions of isolated and individual piety. That was more characteristic of the late medieval Church with its cult of the Reserved Sacrament." If this is a slight exaggeration, it is no more so than common Roman Catholic charges against Protestant wilfulness. Protestantism in its classical forms has never questioned the obligation of corporate life and worship, even in its insistence upon the immediate access of the soul to God.

The final section deals with the Church as modified by the Enlightenment, the complementary Evangelical and Catholic revivals, and the movement toward reunion.

Dr Richardson is an Anglican with a catholic temperament and a wholesome ecumenical outlook. His book deserves to be widely read by the clergy, and may safely be recommended to lay people, since it demands no more background than the average layman presumably possesses. It ought to be on the booklist of every group studying reunion. Only one point seriously troubles the present reviewer. Dr Richardson seems to accept on the surface the unkind things reported by Eusebius about Paul of Samosata. Rarely are the orthodox quite just toward heretics!

P. V. NORWOOD.

European Civilization: its Origin and Development. Under the direction of Edward Eyre. Vol. VI. *Political and Cultural History of Europe since the Reformation.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 1624. \$7.50.

The purchaser of this volume gets, as the price of books goes, a deal for his money. The first 700 pages and more are taken up by a chronicle, rather along the lines of a textbook, of social and political events, 1640-1914, from the pen of the Benedictine scholar, Dom Henry Leclercq. This is objectively written but not impeccable. The remainder—about 850 pages—consists of a series of monographs, some of them not particularly relevant to the subject of European civilization, most of them strongly colored by Roman Catholic interpretation and apologetic hostile to both theological and political liberalism. Whole areas of modern culture are ignored, slightly noticed, or unsympathetically treated. One can but question the propriety of this in a work which purports to tell the story of European civilization.

Hilliard Atteridge's essay on the Paraguay Missions is an able defense of the Jesuits' paternalistic control over their Indian wards. Joseph Bonsirven writes on the Jews in the European System. Ireland is the *one* country singled out for special treatment (Ireland's Place in European Civilization, by W. J. Williams) done with a true Irishman's hatred of English rule and boundless admiration for all things Irish. Thus, the great Tudor Queen is "Elizabeth Boleyn"; and we are informed that "the French Revolution was devised by the propertied middle classes, and was based upon that detestation of democracy in which Jansenism and infidel philosophy united. The American Revolution was mainly directed by an aristocratic caste of slave-holders. . . . Democratic and civic action did not appear in the modern world until the Irish people organized in 1823-5." If this is not a perverse interpretation of history there is no such a thing.

In similar vein, Prof. Corcoran, of Dublin University, writes on Education since the Renaissance. He is bitterly resentful of State intrusion into a province which is held to belong by natural right to the Church and the family. And he lauds Cardinal Wolsey as the model Catholic educator and ideal democrat.

Fr D'Arcy's Exegetical Method of History fulminates against the alleged arbitrariness or subjectivity of scientific historical and biblical criticism. "Science does not liberate from prejudice; in fact, in historical study it sometimes seems to increase." So, it is implied, trustworthy scholarship is to be found only among sound Roman Catholic writers—a thesis of which this volume supplies no impressive demonstration. From the same pen comes an essay on 'The Decline

of Authority in the Nineteenth Century,' in the main an adroit but by no means convincing polemic against the rationalism that is supposed to lurk in modern Anglo-Catholic theology. D'Arcy's argument in favor of "complete capitulation" to authority, with equally complete renunciation of private judgment, by no means goes to the root of the matter, since he fails to show (although he labors at it) that capitulation is not itself an initial exercise of private judgment. Obviously, we are bound to submit to the truth as God reveals it; but it is not at all self-evident that the Roman Church has a monopoly on that truth, as Fr D'Arcy assumes.

E. C. Butler's *Catholic Church and Modern Civilization* is a detailed study of papal pronouncements against liberalism in its several forms. "The Pope will not have it that liberty of worship, liberty of other cults than the Catholic, is a natural right of man. He will only say . . . that to avoid a *greater evil* the civil ruler may without blame tolerate the practice of other religions." (Shades of Al Smith!) We are told that the Popes have stood as the one clear voice denouncing the injustice and inhumanity of the social and industrial system in the world today and proclaiming the one real remedy. They have stood for the rights of God and His Church against the brigandage of the modern State. Yet at the end Fr Butler is forced to the mournful admission that "whereas the Catholic Church is freest in the great democratic Protestant countries, it is in the countries in which she once held the most privileged dominant position in the State that she now is most the object of furious anticlericalism, the most persecuted and hampered, the most enslaved by the State." Now this "remarkable phenomenon" seems to call for some explanation. Is it by mere oversight that Butler has failed to supply one? Or is it that 'phenomenon' conflicts awkwardly with theory?

Less controversial are the essays by Desmond MacCarthy on the European Tradition in Literature; by Sir Ambrose Fleming on Scientific Method in Natural Science; and by the Archbishop of Brisbane on Non-Papal Christianity since the Thirty Years' War. Dr Wand errs in attributing the Virginia Act (1785) for the Establishment of Religious Freedom to the American States as a whole. Dr A. E. Taylor's *History of Modern Philosophy* needs no commendation to readers of this REVIEW.

P. V. NORWOOD.

Varieties of Christian Experience. By Sv. Norborg. 2d ed. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1937, pp. x + 289. \$2.50.

This is quite possibly a very important book. I say "possibly," since it must pass the judgment bar not merely of the theologian but of the professional psychologist, and such judgment has probably not yet been rendered. For the book is grandly presumptive. It invites the whole army of scholars in the field of religious psychology to repent of past errors and to make a clean start. The title of the book is a conscious echo of the famous volume by William James, and the change from "religious experience" to "Christian experience" is important. Rightly understood, this contrast in titles epitomizes the whole of Dr Norborg's argument.

This argument, richly embroidered with the learning of both psychology and theology, is that the psychology of religion has been for generations on a mistaken foundation. William James deserves immense credit as a pioneer (Dr Norborg's praise is quite genuine, so far as it goes), but he and all his followers made one fatal mistake. They identified the God who plays a rôle in Christian experience with that experience itself. They identified Christianity with mysticism. Now mysticism, while it appears often enough in Christian guise, is not to be identified with Christianity. Many theologians, the author avers, have made the same blunder. For them, as for all the psychology of religion since William James, the equation holds: "Experience = God = experience." This dogmatic assumption has poisoned all the waters of religious psychology. It is not scientific, since it oversteps the bounds of science. "A truly scientific attitude and methodology would be agnostic: it would know and confess that psychology cannot answer the question as to the origin of Christian experience."

Agnosticism once substituted for the old dogmatism, the psychologist would be prepared to study Christian experience as it concretely presents itself. The book is, indeed, full of fascinating case studies—stories of conversion, for example, which cover a far wider range than those which the psychology of the schools has admitted to evidence. In all of them Dr Norborg finds, not mysticism, not mere experience, but the voice of an *I am that I am*. "God—*me*; that is the structure of Christian experience, the absolute reverse of the equation of mystical experience." "It is time that Christian experience has an undisturbed hearing in modern psychology!"

It is in this bold criticism of mysticism and in this recall to the objective *reality* of God that the basic value of the book may lie for those who are not experts in psychological techniques. Dr Norborg cuts clean. While much of the volume is written in a somewhat jerky style (William James is still master there), it is full of unforgettable, noble sentences. "The study of thousands of Christian lives has made us realize that psychologically Christianity is the land of the free—there shall be no Christian judged upon his experience. The decisive question for a Christian is precisely *not* the psychological one: What have you *experienced*? God is not an 'explanation' or a 'cause' or a 'reason,' according to our rational standards. Whatever experiences the Christian may have, none of them, not even the highest and most celestial, is a 'proof' of God. To the Christian *God* is not experience. He is *my Lord*."

Of course, such hostility to mysticism may be one-sided. We have been under the spell of lip service to mysticism for so long that a critical examination of it comes as a shock. Particularly is this true of those who are followers of the Post-Reformation "catholic" prayer disciplines. It is also true of many modernists who talk much about "religion" and very little of the historic facts which alone can make religion "Christian." Dr Visser 't Hooft pointedly phrases the same problem which engages Dr Norborg by giving as title to a chapter in a recent book: "God or Religion." Dr Norborg's book can be unreservedly recommended to those (I certainly am one) who have been awakened to the importance of the problem and who are willing to dig down to fundamentals. The book is also rich in concrete advice to pastors in their wrestling with psychiatric penitents.

It has brave things to say about Freud. Its case histories alone make the book worth its purchase price.

I know nothing about the author except that the article on him in the Norwegian *Who's Who* makes fairly impressive reading. He has written several books, one in Norwegian on Josiah Royce. The title-page identifies him as "Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Minnesota."

T. O. WEDEL.

Beyond Tragedy. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribner, 1937, pp. xi + 306. \$2.00.

This book comes as near to being a systematic statement of Reinhold Niebuhr's theological position as his theology will admit of. The relation between the temporal world and the eternal world is *dialectic*, he says—i.e. "the eternal is revealed and expressed in the temporal but not exhausted by it." The relation between the temporal and the eternal can be expressed only in symbolic terms. A rational statement is bound to result either in pantheism or dualism. Man, in his yearning after the fulfillment of eternal hopes in a temporal world, faces problems which he finds rationally insoluble. Religion with its traditions, its ceremonial and its myths helps people to live in the face of these unanswerable questions and to that extent provides a solution to these problems sufficient for practical purposes.

The several chapters of this book show how various ones of the famous stories of the Bible help with the understanding of certain of the deep antinomies of the religious consciousness. Dr Niebuhr has an uncanny gift for picking out and exhibiting the centers of tension and conflict in the religious life. The chapter on the story of Micaiah illustrates the clarity with which he sees the inner problems that arise at the point where the temporal and the eternal come together. In connection with the story of Micaiah he points out that as religious people we want God's blessing on our enterprises. If we do not get it we feel unhappy. But, if we do get it, or seem to get it, we are uneasy because we know that our purposes are imperfect and we have a suspicion that a god who will bless that kind of thing is not really God. Either way we are unsatisfied—and yet, somehow, along with the sense of failure and frustration, in religion and only in religion can be found a type of experience that can bring harmony into men's lives and a peace that passeth all understanding. Most of the other doctrines of the Church, when followed back into the deep recesses of the human soul, are found to involve a similar problem and a similar solution.

The final chapter of the book, on the resurrection of the body, is suggestive and throws further light on Dr Niebuhr's doctrine of the relation between time and eternity. This book presents more clearly than any one of his other books the point of view of a man whose influence is increasingly important upon the theological thought of our time.

C. L. STREET.

Coöperation or Coercion? By L. P. Jacks. Dutton, 1938, pp. xvii + 153. \$2.00.

In this small book on world peace Dr Jacks maintains that the failure of the League of Nations is due to a fundamental defect in its constitution—that is,

the provision for using force as sanctions for its decrees. The general opinion seems to be that a league of nations must be built on the model of the individual state with the same kind of police power. But Dr Jacks points out that such a league is bound to fail because you are dealing with sovereign states and you cannot expect sovereign states to surrender their sovereignty to any other power.

He believes in the League of Nations but he believes that it should renounce force absolutely and should devote its energy to fostering co-operation among nations along economic lines and other lines where co-operation is possible now. He suggests that the nations should agree to cut down their annual expenditures for armaments by a certain amount and put the money so saved into a fund to be used by the League for co-operative purposes under conditions that might be agreed upon. He quotes Josiah Royce as having made a similar suggestion soon after the outbreak of the World War.

A final chapter compares in some detail the problem before the framers of the Constitution of the United States in 1787 to the problem of forming a workable League of Nations. This is a book that gives one the conviction that progress is being made in understanding the conditions which are necessary if nations are to live together in peace.

C. L. STREET.

The Quest for Religious Realism. By Paul Arthur Schilpp. Harper, 1938, pp. ix + 191. \$2.00.

This book is an expansion of the Mendenhall Lectures delivered at DePauw University in the Winter of 1938. The author, who is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Northwestern University, discusses under six chapter headings what he calls "Some Paradoxes of Religion." The topics are: Can We be Open-minded and Deeply Committed; Can We "Gain the World" without "Losing Our Soul"; Can We be Patriotic and Christian; Can We Save Ourselves and Others; Can We be Religious and Intelligent; Can God be "Wholly Other" and Our God?

Dr Schilpp's book is highly provocative and challenging. Through it we see clearly reflected the sincere and deeply religious zeal of the author. It is stimulating reading. The point of view is Liberal Protestant at its best. The Catholic minded reader, therefore, will naturally be unable to accept all of what the author says, and will inevitably doubt whether he has dealt fairly with the traditional Catholic position. In his discussion of the problem of our knowledge of God it is to be noted that Dr Schilpp almost entirely disregards the Christian doctrine of Revelation, and says nothing of the divinity of our Lord.

PAUL S. KRAMER.

Pope Pius XI and World Peace: an Authentic Biography. By Lord Clonmore. Foreword by Cardinal Hinsley. New York: Dutton, 1938, pp. xiii + 306. \$3.00.

The author of this work, a distinguished Roman Catholic peer, sets out to review the relations of the present Bishop of Rome with the various continental forces which have appeared so far to be working against both peace and the Church. The book, which is frankly apologetic and somewhat tendentious, is

liable to irritate the Protestant reader, who, however, ought not to neglect it. The selection of documents and extracts alone would justify its perusal, for they contain a very fair statement of both the official point of view of the Papacy and the individual point of view of His Holiness, who emerges as a gentle, kindly man, of great force of character and very marked friendliness of nature. Apart from an element of turgid piety, there is probably little cause for comment or criticism of the personal estimate of the three Popes who have ruled at the Vatican since 1914—Pius X, Benedict XV and the hero of the biography. The three men represent, personally, a dignified attitude of sympathy and suffering in the face of world tragedy and the suffering of mankind.

It is when we turn from the man to the ecclesiastic that we see a change. The assertions that "the Latin and Imperial tradition of Rome is today represented by Catholicism" and "the sole universal concept which exists today in Rome is that which radiates from the Vatican"—assertions of Mussolini—are the result of Cardinal Ratti's appearance as Pius XI. Pius X had shut himself in the Vatican; Pius XI broke the spell and the Pope emerged once more a temporal prince. The story is told in Chapters VI–VII. In the two following chapters, the Pope's relations with Communism and the circumstances of the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* are fully discussed, and the whole forms a convenient summary for purposes of reference. Chapters X–XI are devoted to the relations with Nazi Germany, summarized in the Encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge*, in which the passage,

"The life-history of other national churches, with their paralysis, their domestication and subjection to world powers, is sufficient evidence of the sterility to which is condemned every branch that is severed from the trunk of the living Church" (p. 184)

produces a footnote alluding to the Prayer Book controversy of 1927 and 1928, presumably to catch the eye of ultra montane minded Anglicans. Chapter XII deals mainly with *L'Action Française*; Chapters XIII–XIV, entitled *Angeli non Angli*, are devoted to the Malines Conversations and the Lambeth Conferences, "which gave the impression of yielding to the Neo-Pagan invader" (!), and the Abyssinian Question. The second and third are held to account for the fact that after October 1925 "the temper of the Vatican became noticeably more cautious." The economy of truth with which the Papacy is rescued from the invidiousness of its endorsement of Mussolini's Abyssinian expedition will excite the admiration of but few. The *Te Deum* celebrating the 'triumph' is not mentioned! Chapters XV–XVI deal with Spain; and XVII with *The Americas*, where the share of Monsignor Kelley of Oklahoma in the settlement of the Roman question affords an interesting example of the strength of American influence in Roman Catholic Europe. The concluding chapter, entitled *Pontifex Maximus*, summarizes the conclusions.

F. W. BUCKLER.

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

Biblical

The Modern Meaning of the Psalms. By Rollin H. Walker. Abingdon Press, 1938, pp. 207. \$1.50.

This little volume is a fresh indication that the Psalms seem now to be emerging from the comparative neglect exhibited towards them for several decades by English-speaking scholars. Its aim is practical: to give "the thinking man who is not versed in the technical problems of literary and historical criticism" "a viewpoint and insight that will make the psalms helpful in the stress and strain of our modern life." The author has given us in part an exposition of certain psalms, in part a series of little essays or tracts in which psalms are interwoven as illustrative and quickening material. He treats successively psalms on the man approved of God; the nature psalms; psalms in praise of the word of God; psalms on the house of God and the national religious festivals; psalms of waiting and longing; psalms of suffering and deliverance; the elegies; the penitential psalms; psalms of jubilant praise and thanksgiving; the royal psalms; with an appendix on the imprecatory psalms. The author brings to his task not only a loving understanding of the psalms themselves, but a store of apt citations from literature, especially Shakespere and modern religious writers; a fund of anecdotes, a flair for homely racy figures and pungent paradox; sound good sense, spiritual insight, ripe experience in the Christian life, and above all a glowing religious devotion. He himself feels that what he has to say on the psalms of suffering and deliverance and the psalms of courage and confidence is the heart of his book; but the reviewer would like to add a number of other portions, especially his treatment of sin, Bible study and public worship. One of the valuable features of the book is the author's appreciation of the contribution of psychology in religion and the need of religion as well as medicine in the treatment of the sick. The sections in which he points out the new factors introduced by Christianity into each sphere of the psalmists' religion are excellent.

F. J.

The Politics of Philo Judaeus: Practice and Theory. By E. R. Goodenough. With a General Bibliography by H. L. Goodhart and E. R. Goodenough. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xii + 348. \$3.75.

Philo is usually thought of as a metaphysician and an allegorist, but the monograph which occupies the first 120 pages of this book shows that he was keenly interested in problems of government and that his works are filled with veiled references to Roman rulers; in fact he used the methods of the apocalyptic writers: for instance Philo's apparent dislike of Joseph, at least as shown in one tract, is due to the fact that Joseph is merely a stalking horse for an attack on the Roman prefect of Alexandria. Although the monograph is really a conclusion to the author's other works, dealing with Philo's political thought, it can be read as a

separate and distinct study. The next 200 pages contain an exhaustive and admirably arranged bibliography of Philo, and in the last 25 pages there are three indices.

A. H. F.

Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Ed. by Gerhard Kittel. Vol. iv. Lfg. 1. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938. RM 2.90.

The first installment of volume iv of the new Word Studies carries down through the opening pages of *latreub*. An especially interesting article is the one on *laos*.

Judaism

The Ethics of Judaism from the Aspect of Duty. By Maxwell Silver. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1938, pp. 384. \$2.50.

This book was written primarily for students of Judaism, to acquaint them with the leading ideas of Jewish ethical teaching, above all with its basic idea of duty.

After analyzing the idea of duty, the author proceeds to show that in Judaism, with the advent of the Great Prophets, God was identified with righteousness; and His will was considered as binding, not only because it was His will, but because its demands corresponded with the demands of man's enlightened conscience. From this point, Dr Silver discusses human nature and various aspects of duty, concluding with a study of the emphasis put upon social duty in Jewish teaching. He illustrates all his statements from Biblical, Talmudic and Midrashic sources and with some references to Jewish mediæval teaching.

The book is an exceedingly fine statement of the Jewish ethical position and will go far to remove Christian prejudices created by a superficial reading of the Gospels. There are extensive reference notes and a good index. F. A. M.

A Book of Jewish Thoughts. Sel. and arr. by Joseph Herman Hertz. New York: Bloch, 1937, pp. xvi + 334.

The fourth printing of a very attractive anthology of Judaism, from the Bible to the present day, arranged under the headings, 'I am a Hebrew,' 'The People of the Book,' 'The Testimony of the Nations,' 'The Voice of Prayer: the Jewish Year,' 'The Voice of Wisdom.'

Many Gentiles are keenly aware of the Jewish national consciousness, and often view it solely from a critical angle. A book like this helps us to see some of the better qualities in that national consciousness and to recognize how deeply rooted it is in the Jewish religion. F. C. G.

Don Isaac Abravanel. By Joseph Sarachek. New York: Bloch, 1938, pp. 222. \$2.00.

Abravanel was one of the greatest of the late-mediæval Jews—the five hundredth anniversary of his birth was celebrated last year. He was born in Lisbon and accordingly experienced the persecution which led up eventually to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal. He was a great Biblical critic and interpreter, and is one of the first to show the influence of the Renaissance upon Biblical interpretation. He was an admirer of Maimonides and belongs in the philosophical succession of modern Judaism. He was a social idealist of the 15th century,

and the persecution of his time led him to picture an earthly Utopia—with a purely human Messiah who will "possess Solomon's wisdom, David's valor, and Hezekiah's divine awe. His ties of attachment to God will prove unbreakable and unassailable. While as a political figure he will rank with David, in reliance upon God Hezekiah will be his prototype. His noble character and exalted station are attested by the names, Peace, Dignity, Grace, which the rabbis gave him" (p. 193).

F. C. G.

Church History

Les Pontifical Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France. By Victor Leroquais. 4 vols. Paris, 1937. I, pp. 304; II, pp. 462; III, pp. 162 (Indices); IV, pp. xiv and 140 plates.

Liturgical students everywhere who know the two previous works of the Abbé Leroquais, on the manuscript Sacramentaries and Missals, and on the manuscript Breviaries, contained in the public libraries of France, will welcome these four volumes dealing with the Pontifical Manuscripts in the same libraries. The same care and thoroughness mark this his latest gift to liturgical science.

One can note but a few points of importance. Among the subjects dealt with in the Introduction are: What is a Pontifical? The History of the Pontifical: first, stages of its growth, second, the varied contents of the MSS; the development of the services for Ordination, both Major and Minor Orders; and the Dedication of Churches. Again, How to identify a given MS as a Pontifical; How to date the MS; and the Decorations of the MSS. The Indices are comprehensive, with abundant cross references. The plates, reproduced from MSS of the tenth to the eighteenth century afford a pictured history of both rite and ceremony, and also the development of ecclesiastical vestments.

These handsome volumes should be in the library of every theological seminary, Anglican and Roman, where serious graduate work in Liturgics is pursued.

H. R. G.

Seven Centuries of the Problem of Church and State. By Frank Gavin. Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. vii + 132. \$2.00.

The two major human loyalties, religion and patriotism, or the institutions through which they are expressed, have seldom been harmonious. Now it is the State which threatens to overmaster the Church; in the Middle Ages the reverse was true. In presenting the historical background of our present controversies Dr Gavin's sketch is particularly timely. In four essays he has presented the changing theories about Church and State from Justinian to Hitler. We learn that Justinian was the first Erastian—indeed, that Erastus was not an Erastian at all. All through the Middle Ages, in theory at least, the social organism was not bifurcated. There were not two institutions, Church and State; there were merely two magistracies. There was only one divine institution, the Nation; and its divinity was centered in two foci and was protected by two swords. There was theoretical unity; but there was never unanimity—in fact the two swords were continually unsheathed against each other. This book is a study of the theories advanced by the protagonists of both sides—Justinian, Hildebrand, Frederick II, St Thomas Aquinas, John of Salisbury, Calvin, the English Re-

formers, and the modern ultra-Nationalists. Abundant notes enable the reader to carry his study back to the sources.

This was the late Dr Gavin's last book. His death has deprived the Church of one of its most brilliant scholars.

C. L. D.

The Church of England in Colonial Virginia. By Edgar Legare Pennington. Hartford: Church Missions Publishing Company, 1937-8. Part I, 1607-19. Part II, 1619-85. 44 pages. Paper, 55 cts.

The Church of England in Colonial New Hampshire. The Reverend Arthur Browne. By Edgar Legare Pennington. Hartford: Church Missions Publishing Company, 1937-8, pp. 12 + 20. Paper, 40 cts.

Useful popular contributions to the history of the Colonial Church, utilizing to some extent Library of Congress transcripts of unpublished documents in English archives. The latter pamphlet, especially, contains material not generally available.

P. V. N.

Die Umformung des christlichen Denkens in der Neuzeit. By Emanuel Hirsch. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1938, pp. viii + 343. RM. 7.80.

A volume of well-chosen excerpts from the writings of philosophers and theologians since the period of the Enlightenment, to show their transforming influence upon the course of Christian thought. The names selected as representative include: Leibnitz, Mosheim, Semler, Lessing, Kant, Goethe, Fichte, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Hegel, F. C. Baur, Kierkegaard. Apart from the latter, the only non-German noticed is David Hume. Those who care to trace the development of modern Protestant theology from the great German thinkers of the eighteenth century and understand the *Weltanschauung* upon which it is posited will find the book most useful.

P. V. N.

Trouble and Promise in the Struggle of the Church in Germany. By Karl Barth. Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 28. 40 cts.

This is the substance of the Deneke lecture delivered at Oxford in March of this year. It is an illuminating and characteristically courageous defense of the Confessional Church in its refusal to accept the hypocritical offer of State support if it would only render to Cæsar the things that are God's. That attempted bribery was hypocritical, because the real purpose of national socialism has clearly revealed itself as a determination to put Germanism in the place of Christianity. Through tribulation the Evangelical Church in Germany is apparently being purged and brought to a deeper understanding of the Word of God, majestic and powerful.

P. V. N.

Children of Light. Edited by Howard H. Brinton. New York: Macmillan, 1938, pp. xii + 416. \$3.50.

This collection of fifteen essays in Quaker history was presented to Rufus Jones on his seventy-fifth birthday. The first, by H. G. Wood, is a study of Penn's venture into theology in his *Christian Quaker*, in which one finds a catholicity similar to that in the best of the Apologists and the early Alexandrine Fathers. F. R. Taylor, on Penn as Constitution Maker, claims for the Friend a crucial

influence on the formulation of Locke's political philosophy. Catharine Miles contributes an interesting personality study contrasting Penn and Woolman. Quaker intellectual interests are explored in two papers: one by H. J. Cadbury on Hebraica and the Jews; the other, Latin Works of Friends, by Anna C. Brinton. W. I. Hull, in his essay on Mennonites and Quakers of Holland, reaches the conclusion that "early English Quakerism entered into, instead of came out of, the Mennonite communities." The hardships of New England Friends during the Revolution are recounted by A. J. Mekeel; while Harlow Lindley deals with Quaker elements in the old Northwest. Isabel Grubb and the Editor write, respectively, on Home Life and on Spiritual Development as exemplified in Friends' journals.

Four other essays are biographical studies of minor worthies. Janet Whitney, author of the recent fascinating life of Elizabeth Fry, adds a 'footnote' to that volume in the form of a sketch of Thomas Fowell Buxton, Anglican and social reformer, who married the Quaker heroine's sister, Hannah Gurney. P. V. N.

Meister Eckhart. Latin Works. Vol. iii. *Expositio S. Evangelii sec. Johannem.* Lfg. 2, pp. 81-160. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938. Rm. 2.

Continuation of the great new folio-size edition of Eckhart, appearing under the auspices of the German Forschungsgemeinschaft. F. C. G.

Luther's Evangelien-Auslegung. Ed. by Erwin Mülhaupt. Vol. I. pp. 1-64, 65-128. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1938. Rm. 1.35 each.

Beginning of a new edition of Luther's *Expositions of the Gospels*, not designed for scholars but for laity and clergy who are devoted to Luther and the Bible. F. C. G.

Corpus Confessionum. Ed. by Caius Fabricius. Lfgn. 37-38. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1938. Rm. 7 each.

Continuation of Fabricius' edition of the Christian Confessions in parallel columns, German and English. The present instalments give the Westminster Catechism. F. C. G.

Manuductio ad Ministerium. Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry. By Cotton Mather. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xi + xix + 151. \$2.00.

This is a reproduction of the original edition, Boston, 1726, of Cotton Mather's famous book of 'Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry.' It is edited for the Facsimile Text Society by Thomas J. Holmes and Kenneth B. Murdock. The curious subtitle of the book is 'The Angels Preparing to Sound the Trumpets.' Not many students preparing for the ministry these days would be impressed by a work addressed to them which made frequent and familiar reference to Avicenna, Nazianzen, the Emperor Basil, or which strongly stressed the dangers of 'judicial astrology.'

The author had no use for Archbishop Laud and in fact so states (p. 64):

"And I will further tell you, That if in any *History*, you happen to find any Vindicating or Favourable Passages of old A. Bishop *Laud*, Let these

be *Shibboleth* enough with you, to do the Office which the *Rattle* does for the *Serpent*, which our Country is no Stranger to."

All the more curious then is the strong urging of his readers above all things to feed their people with the Bread of Life and to "exhibit as much as you can of a Glorious CHRIST unto them: Yes, Let the *Motto* upon your whole Ministry, be, CHRIST IS ALL" (p. 93). That was one of the drawbacks of the old Puritanism. Christ and his Gospel were understood in such fashion that bitterness and bad temper were not in the least incompatible with piety and devotion.

There are some very sensible counsels in the book. "'Tis Pity but a *Well prepared* Sermon should be a *Well pronounced* One. . . . Be sure to speak *Deliberately*. Strike the *Accent* always upon that *Word* in the Sentence which it properly belongs unto. . . . Don't *Begin* too High. Ever *Conclude* with Vigour." —Evidently Cotton Mather disapproved of the weak ending of sentences by men who let their voices drop and become inaudible (p. 105).

However, in fairness to Mather one should add this from p. 127:

"This I must say: A *Church* that shall banish the *Children of God* from His *Holy Table*, and shall exclude from its *Communion* those that shall be *Saved*, merely for such Things as are Consistent with the Maxims of *PIETY*, does not exhibit, *The Kingdom of God*, unto the World, as a *Church* ought to do. Churches that will keep up *Instruments of Separation*, which will keep out those that have the Evident *Marks* and *Claims* of them that are *One with CHRIST* upon them, are in Reality but *Combinations of Men*. . . ."

That shaft was pointed in one direction in 1726. It still points that way. But it can still point in others as well!

F. C. G.

Pius XI: Apostle of Peace. By Lillian Browne-Olf. Macmillan, 1938, pp. xii + 257. \$2.50.

This book is dedicated to Cardinal Mundelein and bears the imprimatur of Cardinal Hayes. It describes the life and character of Achille Ratti, Milanese mountain climber, pro-prefect of the Vatican library, papal ambassador and finally Pope. The authoress feels that the Pope's character, experience and position preëminently fit him to be the arbiter among the nations of the world in place of the dying or already dead League of Nations. "By means of the invention and perfection of radio the Supreme Head of Catholicism can communicate directly and instantly to his flock . . . of 400,000,000 souls. What a tremendous power for peace! What a potential agency for guidance in critical days ahead!" And where governments have censored radio and press he has been able to smuggle in his encyclicals by means of the airplane. He has his "important daily audience with Cardinal Pacelli, the papal Secretary of State, who informs the Pope of the very latest happenings in world affairs which he has carefully condensed from current newspapers of the world. Pope Pius XI's interest in press reactions to Vatican policy is never known to lag." He has issued encyclicals on the two great causes of the wars of to-day, nationalism and class strife, following in this a predecessor of his, Leo XIII, who "fifty years ago foresaw and warned the world what would happen if the discontented and underprivileged classes followed the siren voice from the British Museum. . . .

The return of the teaching of the Evangel can alone restore a laicized paganized society to peace and prosperity."

The most interesting part of the book is its rather detailed account of the events in Italy which led up to Mussolini's accession to power, and of his dealings with the Vatican. "While Il Duce is by no means what is called 'a good catholic,' he yet has regarded the Church as his country's chief ornament and a powerful instrument for the fulfilment of Italy's future greatness." We are told that the Pope did not use his "weapon of excommunication" in the Ethiopian war because he was afraid it might cause a civil war in Italy.

Mrs Browne-Olf is an American, her home is in Chicago, but she has spent three years in Rome. She remarks, "Today the Eternal City seems more real and secure than any capital in the world. In comparison, New York appears to the returning American like a fantastic creation in time, which might easily fall in ruins like a stack of cards when the zeitgeist that spawned it wearis of the monstrosity"—!!

C. E. H. F.

Pastoral Theology

Steps Toward the World Council. By Charles S. Macfarland. New York: Revell, 1938, pp. 128. \$1.25.

This is a history of the forces which culminated in the calling of the 1925 Stockholm conference on Life and Work. No one is better fitted to tell the story than Dr Macfarland, and it is to be hoped that in a future volume he will extend the story of Oxford, 1937. It is gratifying to be reminded that Christians of the warring nations kept up friendly relations during 1914-1918 and prayed for their enemies. After reading the book one is not likely to be impatient over the fact that the Churches are not closer together today than they are; it is a cause for glad surprise that the movement has gone as far as it has. Furthermore, one is less likely to expect too much from the proposed World Council; after all, it is an organ of the existing Churches.

S. E. J.

We Believe and Worship. By Maurice Clark. Michigan City, Indiana: The Cloister Press (614 Franklin Street), 1938, pp. x + 82. \$70.

A book of thirteen Worship Services for older members of the Church School built upon the sentences of the Apostles' Creed and containing a great quantity of suitable hymns. The prayers are chiefly from the Book of Common Prayer, or based upon its Collects.

F. C. G.

Art and Character. Albert Edward Bailey. Abingdon Press, 1938, pp. 354 + 44 plates. \$3.75.

Professor Bailey writes as he speaks, and those who have heard his fascinating lectures on religious art will be glad to have this exposition of the principles of interpretation which he follows. The increasing use of art in religious education will be furthered by this work, which could really be used as a text book—certainly it is an excellent guide for teachers, and has references to a large literature and also to reprints of famous paintings and drawings ancient and modern.

Professor Bailey is able to find a moral and religious meaning even in some of our most extreme modernist art. As a matter of fact some of us have learned

to appreciate modern work, at least to some degree, as a result of his interpretation. He insists that art awaits the revival of social religion. "Modern artists are history-minded, science-minded, socially-minded. They are religious but not ecclesiastical, reverent but not superstitious, theologically agnostic and yet loyal to essential human values. Modern art is evolving its own form of expression out of the experimental elements that have so confused us for the past thirty years. We can look for a still more socially-minded era in which art will exhibit still less of the historic aspect of religion and more of its universal spirit" (p. 278). But we are not quite so sure, for our part, that what modern art needs is a social revolution in order to send the artists "into the depths of their nature to discover what it is they most deeply desire." There is enough tension and torment in life at present to do that, if the artist is serious and sincere enough a man.

F. C. G.

The Student Hymnary. Ed. by Edward Dwight Eaton. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1937, pp. xxiv + 482. \$1.50.

Another Hymnal for Students edited by the venerable president-emeritus of Beloit College and reflecting his excellent taste in the selection of hymns. The old classics are here—many of them—and some wonderful new hymns, for instance No. 360, by William Arthur Lee, 1934:

"God of the circling realms of space,
Lord of all unifying power,
Beneath whose wisdom and whose grace
The planets move, the ages flower,
Lord God of Hosts, stretch forth Thy might!
Mankind unite—mankind unite!"

The Prayers and Responsive Readings at the end are excellently chosen. The sources are both ancient and modern, several of the prayers being by Boynton Merrill of Newton.

One of the unique features of this book is the 'Notes on the Hymns' (pp. 433-482)—which add greatly to the interest of the volume and will no doubt be read by many a student as he waits for Chapel to begin. F. C. G.

When Man Listens. By Cecil Rose. Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 77. \$2.50.

A personal testimony to the new release and power which has come into one man's life through the Oxford Group, and dedicated to "the growing army of men and women who are proving afresh for our generation that

When man listens,
God speaks.
When man obeys,
God works."

F. C. G.

Confirmation in the Modern World. By Matthias Laros; tr. by George Sayer. Sheed and Ward, 1938, pp. v + 229. \$2.00.

This is a study of the sacrament of Confirmation, not as a theological thesis, but in its significance for the Christian life. It is a most practical book, and one

which an intelligent layman would greatly enjoy. It makes clear, what is often forgotten, that Confirmation is the sacrament which sanctifies the adult personality, for it endows him with the free gifts of God's Spirit which alone can motivate and inspire him to the life of a Christian disciple. Two chapters particularly, one on the Sacrament of Catholic Action and the other on the Seven Gifts of the Spirit, seem to the reviewer as of outstanding value. The book is written simply; it is up-to-date and popular. It can be highly recommended both for use as a basis for Confirmation instruction and as a Confirmation gift. P. S. K.

Grundriss der Praktischen Theologie. By Leonhard Fendt. Pt. i. Tübingen: Mohr, 1938, pp. 134. M. 3.90.

Part I gives the 'Foundation,' the teaching on the church, its offices, and on Preaching. Handy size, and compact; designed 'for students and candidates,' and excellent for the purpose.

F. C. G.

The Way of Praise. By Aelfrida Tillyard. Macmillan, 1937, pp. ix + 178. \$1.40.

A very attractive book of devotion written in a familiar style, which in places reminds one of William Law, and addressed to the author's friend Theodora, with whom the author has evidently shared her spiritual life. Miss Tillyard is a Presbyterian; her friend is a member of the Established Church, and is one whose spiritual life seems to have grown 'flat, stale, and unprofitable,' but who nevertheless is described by the author as 'among those seekers after God who are contemplatives without knowing it. A contemplative is called to adore God rather than to reason about Him; to offer praise, not to construct arguments. "By love may He be gotten and holden, but by thought never.'" The volume is a companion to *Spiritual Exercises and Their Results*, and a book of devotional reading entitled *The Closer Walk with God*.

F. C. G.

Evangelism and the Laity. By H. A. Jones. London: Student Christian Movement. New York: Macmillan, 1938, pp. 125. \$1.25.

An excellent book in the 'Diocesan Series' edited by the Bishop of Southwark and others on the Diocesan Series Council, and aimed "to do something about the serious and widespread ignorance in this country of the teaching of the Christian Faith."

It is not only in England that that is the situation. It is perhaps even truer in this country where we do not have the long established tradition of Christian faith and worship. The book stresses the importance of lay participation in evangelism, a feature which certainly deserves fuller recognition in this country.

F. C. G.

Christ in His Suffering. By K. Schilder; tr. by Henry Zylstra. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1938, pp. 467. \$3.00.

This work consists of twenty-six chapters, homiletical in character, by the Professor of Dogmatics at the Theological College of the Reformed Church of Netherlands at Kampen. It is a beautiful and brilliant exposition of various features of our Lord's sufferings during his last weeks on earth. There are

many good things in it, and it should serve as an admirable basis for meditation, especially during the Lenten season. As is to be expected, the point of view is strikingly Calvinistic, and for this reason its appeal will not be so widespread as in the author's native Holland.

P. S. E.

The Church Victorious. By Horace Crotty. Longmans, 1938, pp. viii + 118, \$1.25.

This is the Bishop of London's Lenten book for the current year and is an excellent and helpful exposition of the truth that the Church's victories are primarily in the spiritual rather than in the material realm. It is a good antidote for religious pessimism. While facing the facts of everyday life resolutely, the author points out that these facts can be woefully exaggerated as to their final implications. The reader puts the book down refreshed and stimulated by a genuine challenge to courageous faith.

F. A. M.

Challenge! Christ or Compromise. By M. R. Bennett. Longmans, 1938, pp. xii + 114. \$1.40.

A somewhat chatty discussion of the present situation of the Christian religion faced with the challenge of today and with the Church rueing its failure to hold Europe together. The Adversary today is nationalism. The only way the Church can deal with the situation—which is the only way the situation can be dealt with—is for Christians to take their religion in earnest.

F. C. G.

A Preacher's Note-Book. By Paul B. Bull. New York: Macmillan, 1938, pp. xxiv + 589. \$3.00.

This book raises the old question as to whether a preacher should use another man's plans, etc. in preparing his sermons. The book itself is well done. The first part gives brief outlines for sermons for the Sundays and Festivals in the Church year. The latter part gives illustrations and suggestions for use in the development of the outlines.

The outlines in practically every case give more material than should be used in a single sermon but are generally well developed and clearly put. The illustrations are for the most part excellent.

If the preacher would use outlines just to start him thinking and would not depend upon them absolutely they could be helpful. But if a man does not use his own brains at all such help would be destruction of his sense of responsibility for his preaching.

F. A. M.

Parish Administration. By Don Frank Fenn. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1938, pp. 334. \$3.50.

We should all be very grateful to Dr Fenn for having given us this excellent treatise on Parish Administration, written from the American standpoint and based upon a varied and rich experience. It does not need a detailed review but certain general qualities should be emphasized. In the first place, it is written with great clearness and frankness. Nowhere could this reviewer discern any dodging of difficulties. In the second place the author emphasizes principles of action rather than petty rules. Again he makes very clear that without diligence, ordered life and above all a personal devotion to God, a priest's work will be a failure.

Every young man entering upon his ministry or those who have found difficulty after a few years of work should purchase this book, ponder it, and follow its precepts.

F. A. M.

Sunday Morning: the New Way. Edited by Brother Edward. London: S. P. C. K.; New York: Macmillan, 1938, pp. xxii + 161. \$1.25.

This may be described as a supplement to *The Parish Communion*, edited by Fr Hebert (noticed in the April number of this REVIEW). That book explored the doctrinal and liturgical warrant for "the Holy Eucharist with the communion of the people as the chief Sunday service in a parish church." But how is this desirable reform to be carried out in practice and adapted to differing situations? *Sunday Morning* gives us a series of case-studies from parishes of widely variant ecclesiastical altitudes, in town, suburb, village, and the mission field. Those who own and prize *The Parish Communion* will want to own the companion volume.

P. V. N.

Communism and Man. By F. J. Sheed. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1938, pp. xiii + 247. \$2.00.

This book is one that will well repay reading on the part of anyone who is interested in the opposition between Communism and Christianity. The first part of the book sets forth the dialectic of Karl Marx with an attempt to show how it is built out of the dialectic of Hegel. The second section, which is really two sections, is devoted to the doctrine of Man. Here the communistic doctrine of Man is sharply contrasted with the Church's doctrine. I believe that this part of the book is the most valuable.

The last part is devoted to a criticism of Capitalism from the Church's point of view.

J. H.

To Live is Christ. By Trevor H. Davies. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. x + 250. \$2.00.

This book is an interesting contribution to semi-devotional literature. Dr Davies has chosen eleven great men of God and by a charming examination of their writings has helped to bring their souls more clearly into focus of the modern mind. This would be a good Lenten book for priest or layman. It might, also, make a pleasant addition to one's summer reading. I am sure that any preacher would find it crammed with sermon material for which he will be very thankful.

Almost of equal worth in the literature he examines is the author's personal revelation of soul, so that one not only sees Saint Augustine and John Bunyan, but Trevor H. Davies—in certain respects much more important to a contemporary.

J. H.

Doctrine

The Creed of an Idealist. By Edward McCrady. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1938, pp. vii + 103. \$1.00.

This study, written from the point of view of idealistic philosophy, is an attempt to indicate the implications of that philosophy as they bear on the fundamentals of the Christian faith. It is maintained that the cardinal Christian doctrines are clearly implied in the principles of philosophical Idealism. There

is added to the main body of the study a sketch of the development of the leading philosophical and religious conceptions of the ancients, which culminated in the "clear vision of the God-man of Christianity." While not all will agree with some of the assumptions of the author, and will be unable to follow without hesitation wherever he leads, the book is very welcome as suggestive and stimulating.

P. S. K.

Skeptic's Quest. By Hornell Hart. Macmillan, 1938, pp. 173. \$2.00.

The long heralded "age of faith," which is said to be upon us, shows increasing indications of its reality by the flow of new books demanding a realistic approach to religion and life. Among these is another volume by Hornell Hart, who has already contributed to the field *Living Religion, The Science of Social Relations*, and other such.

The Skeptic's Quest manifests a marked gain by employing the unusual but interesting "conversation form" for getting across the author's ideas. This method ought specially to appeal to the taste of the college student or the layman with honest doubts and still more honest desire to set his feet on the upland path towards faith and truth.

The two main characters are "the Student" and "the Thinker," plus other typical members of our present society: a worker, a merchant, a physicist, and others. It is a bit of fearless discussion, clear in its presentation, out of which in discursive dialectic comes a workable religious world view. The conversation is ambient with contemporary psychological, sociological, and philosophical patter.

"We are part of a patternful universe." . . . "Let us really be skeptical!" . . . "Am I free?" . . . "We die, what then?" . . . "What place have purpose and personality in the universe?" . . . Such chapter headings suggest the rich content of the book.

This volume is usable material for leaders who conduct college student or such-like study groups.

F. H. O. B.

Honesty. By Richard C. Cabot. Macmillan, 1938, pp. ix + 326. \$2.50.

Those who read Dr Cabot's former book, *The Meaning of Right and Wrong*, will remember his vigorous and original treatment of self-deceit. This book is in reality an enlargement of that treatment. The author regards lying as the instrument of almost all man's disgraces, and, holding that principle, necessarily believes that honesty is the king-pin of the virtues. With that as his theme he has given us a most interesting, helpful and clearly stated treatise. This reviewer believes that he has proved his thesis even if one cannot always follow him when it comes to dealing with impertinent questions or with people who need a confidant. Anyone who has to deal constantly with other people should read this book and clarify his mind.

F. A. M.

Liberalism Faces the Future. By Clarence R. Skinner. Macmillan, 1937, pp. xi + 159. \$1.50.

Liberalism the author recognizes as a temper of mind, a method of arriving at conclusions—whether political, economic, social, or religious. It is opposed

to authoritarianism. It arose with the Renaissance and developed through the periods of the Reformation and Revolution. But it is more, he claims, than merely a method; it can also be identified as a philosophy. As such it consists in a faith in the fundamental wisdom and good-will of human nature—a faith that persists in spite of manifold ignorances and malevolences. It rejects supernaturalism, makes human well-being the *Summum Bonum*, and exalts human personality to be the saviour. In a word, the philosophy is Humanism. It is admitted that the individualism in which this philosophy results may be, and has been, carried too far. It is also admitted that Liberals have too often failed to take account of the emotional side of human nature. But these short-comings are regarded as merely incidental and not as impeaching the whole philosophy. For the future Dr Skinner recommends that we accomplish all that we can as individuals or through voluntary coöperation; but that the growing complexity of economic and social life requires us to leave more and more to authority; and that the field of authoritative activity must in every case be determined by convenience. In which everyone will agree, regardless of his philosophy.

C. L. D.

The Eternal Gospel. By Rufus M. Jones. Macmillan, 1938, pp. vi + 235.
\$2.00.

In the first of a new popular series, "Great Issues of Life," Dr Jones outlines his philosophy of religion and of history, and makes his confession of faith. It is a truly beautiful book, summarizing beliefs and views which the author has been setting forth in his many writings of past years. The weakest aspect of his position is in its dealing with the existence of evil, where his evolutionary immanentalism reaches a too easy optimistic conclusion.

N. B. N.

Miscellany

The Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation. Ed. by T. F. Higham and C. M. Bowra. Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. cxii + 781. \$3.00.

In 1930 the Oxford University Press published *The Oxford Book of Greek Verse*, an anthology containing over seven hundred of the most priceless passages in Greek poetry. Two of the editors of that volume have now produced a translation of the same, the translators ranging from Pope and even from the Rheims New Testament to themselves. The best of the translations have been culled and the volume is supplied with a useful series of notes and, more important, with a fascinating and valuable introduction which deals with the character and development of Greek poetry—a superb sketch of its history—and a thorough discussion of the art of translation and its problems. Mr Higham concludes that "all translation is a kind of illusion, more or less perfect according to circumstances, and varying also with the skill of the translator. Greek, in its syllabation, its metric, its word-formation, and in the language and conventions of its poetry, differs so profoundly from English that illusions of likeness are rare and hard to achieve. Where there exists in English a corresponding form and manner, e.g. in dramatic dialogue of the more colloquial kind, a high degree of illusion is

possible. Those translations are always best in which the illusion is most complete and the idiom least suggestive of translation" (p. cviif).

One may dip in anywhere and be caught by the illusion—so perfect are these translations. For instance the anonymous seventh century lyric translated by R. Syme and entitled "At the Mill":

"Grind, mill, grind,
Even as Pittacus grinds,
Master of great Mytilēnē."

But it is too bad the editors made no use of Blackie's marvellous translation of Aeschylus.

F. C. G.

The Secrets of the Kaula Circle. By Elizabeth Sharpe. London: Luzac, 1936, pp. 96. 3s. 6d.

"A tale of fictitious people faithfully recounting strange rites still practiced by this cult, followed by a translation of a very old manuscript on the "Science of Breath"—so reads the subtitle. Miss Sharpe is evidently a responsible writer upon India. Luzac and Company are a responsible English publishing house. The weird story contained in this book is one that any European or American woman who has been attracted to the secret wisdom of the East and who feels called upon to go to India for the purpose of further initiation, study, and devotion, ought to read—and then to investigate before she leaps in the dark—particularly if she has plenty of money.

F. C. G.

Jew and Christian. By Alexander Lyons. New York: Bloch, 1937, pp. 62.

"A plea for better inter-relationship," emphasizing the need for greater friendliness and understanding.

A Second Sheed and Ward Survey. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1938, pp. xii + 440. \$2.50.

Selected pages from sixty-six books published by Sheed and Ward during the past four years. An interesting way to distribute samples.

The Building of Drew University. By D. F. Sitterly. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1938, pp. 302. \$2.50.

The author was well equipped for the writing of this history: as a student, he was secretary to the President and as a professor was secretary of the Faculty from 1895 to 1935. Drew Theological Seminary and University seems to have had a succession of paragons on its faculty and after reading the laudatory remarks about the founder, Daniel Drew of Erie Railroad fame, it is interesting to read the life of that financial wizard in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. A. H. F.

Institution de la Religion Chrestienne. Par Jean Calvin. Texte établi et présenté par Jacques Pannier. Vol. III. Paris: Société les Belles Lettres, 1938, pp. 328.

Annotated edition of the *Institutes* according to the French text of 1560. The third volume contains the chapters on the similarities and differences in the Old and New Testaments, the exposition of the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments generally, Baptism, and of course the famous eighth chapter, in which Calvin's doc-

trine of Predestination is for the first time elaborated. The editor has made it easy for us to trace the successive expansions of the great reformatory treatise since the first edition of 1536.

P. V. N.

Abiding Values of Evangelicalism. Philadelphia: Evangelical Education Society, 1938, pp. viii + 157. Paper, .75; cloth, \$1.25.

These are the papers read at the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Evangelical Education Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, celebrated on February 8-9 of this year at Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia. The subjects dealt with cover the Sacraments, social reform, the Bible, Missions, and theological seminaries. The book is an illustration of the continued vitality of the evangelical emphasis in the Episcopal Church.

F. C. G.

Laymen Speaking. By George Marlan. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1938, pp. 242. \$2.50.

In this book the author attempts to bring the ideas of many laymen together on the question of Religion, mainly for their opinions of sermons. He has been inter-denominational and extremely democratic in his selection of persons to be interviewed, with useless opinions in most cases the logical result.

In attempting to be broad, he has interviewed people in categories ranging from national political figures to strip-tease dancers, without regard to their interest in any church. The weight of most of these opinions would be comparable to those of an African Bushman on Badminton or Contract Bridge.

There is much that is good in the book, sound and useful for both Clergy and laymen, but it probably would have been of a great deal more use if supported by opinions of *active* churchmen.

S. A. C.

INDEX TO VOLUMES XI-XX

Prepared by RUTH LEONARD MEIER, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary

Next to doing things that deserve to be written, there is nothing that gets a man more credit, or gives him more pleasure, than to write things that deserve to be read.

—Lord Chesterfield, *Letters to his Son*, 1739.

This index has been devised to serve the needs of theological students, teachers, and librarians, in facilitating reference to the articles, notes, reviews and notices of current literature contained in Volumes xi-xx of this journal. The plan is as follows:

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- (1) Authors, alphabetically arranged, with titles of articles.
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CORRIGENDA

XI. 89. line 7. By A. Bertholet.
 104. line 30. Probably his name is King.
 XIII. 453. line 13, read: other early Christian literature.
 475. line 25. Frederick C. Grant.
 XIV. 369. line 12. Glenn Frank. Macmillan.
 XVI. 16. line 17. community.
 XVII. v. line 25. Easton.
 96. line 1. Reviews.

